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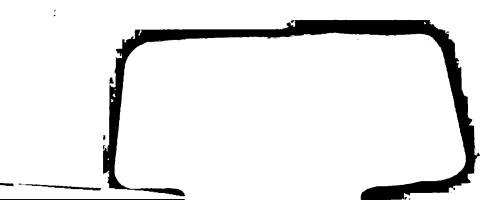

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ROMAN ROAD, DELAMERE FOREST.

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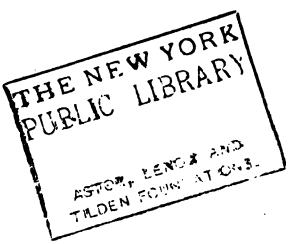
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STONEHENGE.

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# MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS IN THEIR SEPULCHRAL RELATION.

BY ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., F.S.A.

PROBABLY no class of archæological objects has been a more fertile subject of discussion, none certainly has impressed itself more on the popular imagination, than the class of monuments that are known as megalithic. The great circles of Stonehenge or Avebury, the Avenues of Carnac, or the sculptured pile of Gavrinnis—or, to take more familiar examples, Kit's Coty House or Waylands Smithy, the mounded domes of Maeshow or New Grange—these are monuments well calculated to fill even those most careless of antiquarian enquiry with wondering speculation. How did these mighty piles arise? What power of Eld transported these huge monoliths and upheaved these ponderous capstones to rest upon their adamantine supports? Folklore has its own explanation, and has a natural recourse to the sinews of giants, to the enchantments of Merlin, or the craft of the Wizard Smith. And these popular tales have a value of their own, not so much from the scientific or historical accuracy of the account given—though some of these traditions are not devoid of a kernel of truth—but rather as preserving fragments of heathen antiquity and of dim religious notions bound up with an archaic cult coeval with the monuments themselves.

Very different is the value attaching to too many of the miscalled learned explanations of the origin and purpose of these megalithic piles. That poetry should use them as its playthings we cannot grudge, but nothing probably has done more to bring the Science of Antiquity into discredit than the rash and visionary speculation for which these monuments have so often supplied the occasion. It is only by substituting for mere idle guesswork a more scientific line of investigation, and by rigorous adherence to the comparative and inductive method, that we shall be enabled to arrive at some positive results. Much, no doubt, must still remain unintelligible to us, but we are at least in a position to approach the enquiry from the right end. We shall not certainly begin with vague and fruitless speculations as to Druidical sacrifices. But we shall take the spade in hand and unearth the megalithic chambers of the earliest grave-mounds of the British Isles and Western Europe. We shall bring the primitive dwellings of troglodytic forefathers into the closest relation with the rock-set, subterranean House of Death, and may rise at last from the funereal sanctuaries of departed Spirits to the contemplation of those grander hypæthral piles that tell of a more developed cult.

Owing to the patient researches worked out in many fields, but most conspicuously, it must be acknowledged, by the archæologists of Scandinavia and our own country, much has been already done to promote the accurate knowledge of megalithic structures; and it is a matter for cordial congratulation that it should have recently received such a splendid illustration as the work of Mr. Lukis, and that the Vice-President of this Society holds out to us the hope of important contributions from the Isle of Man. A vast mass of material already lies before us, but the results from various sources have been hitherto very imperfectly

coördinated. The special work that has been done on the subject of Chambered Barrows—a subject so exhaustively treated as regards English remains by Dr. Thurnam—has never been properly brought into relation with kindred studies on the subject of dolmens and stone circles. The enquiries of Nilson, of Boye, of Worsaae and Engelhardt into Scandinavian monuments of the kind have never been really harmonized with those of our own antiquaries. The collateral evidence from Algeria, from Arabia, from India, from China, and other still more distant regions of the globe, has been regarded too much apart. Our materials are scattered far and wide, and the attempts to present them in a collective form have either been extremely imperfect, like Bonstetten's *Essai sur les Dolmens*, or have been distorted by fundamentally erroneous theories, like Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*. There are certainly many just observations scattered through Mr. Fergusson's book, and he often shows the intuitive perception of an architect as to the developement and connexion of forms. But a writer absolutely devoid of critical judgment as to the character of archæological evidence, and who goes out of his way to express his contempt for the Danish antiquaries, brings with him the Nemesis contained in such statements as that megalithic monuments "were generally erected by partially civilized races after they had come into contact with the Romans," and that "most of them may be considered as belonging to the first ten centuries of the Christian era." In Mr. Fergusson's opinion, the dolmens rising on tumuli with concentric stone circles, were probably introduced into Europe in post-Constantinian times by Buddhist missionaries from India!

To deal with so vast a subject on a comprehensive system is indeed a serious undertaking, and one for which the materials at present collected are only partially adequate.

It is, however, a subject of absorbing interest, and such researches as I have myself been able to make into the genesis and evolution of megalithic forms have inspired me with the belief that it will be eventually possible to build up such a system on a firm and lasting foundation. On the present occasion I cannot do more than allude to certain lines of enquiry leading to the most important conclusions not only as to the origin and natural sequence of megalithic forms, but *pari passu* as to the embryology of Religion and its earliest phases amongst our primitive forefathers.

Our argument has at least the advantage that it proceeds from the known to the unknown, and not as some religious enquiries—and this is essentially a religious enquiry—from the unknown to the known. Now the earliest forms of megalithic monument, of which from their associated remains we know the origin, are connected with the cult of the Departed, and where the simplest forms of such monuments are still found in existing use amongst primitive peoples they are reared with a distinct view to this sepulchral religion.

Moreover, archæological researches and the observations of travellers amongst modern savages both lead to the same conclusion—that the earliest receptacle of the Dead is the abode of the Living. The cult of the Dead in any form is indeed comparatively recent. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that Palæolithic Man practised any form of sepulture. The men of the Reindeer Period, though their remains occur in countries abounding in natural receptacles for their dead, appear to have absolutely neglected them; and, what is stranger still, the Eskimos, who according to Professor Dawkins' view are their truest modern representatives, have even to our day only partially advanced to the most primitive form of house-interment, while many of their

tribes still display a callousness as regards the remains of their departed kinsfolk which strikes European observers with astonishment and horror.

Evidence of sepulture first appears in Europe during the comparatively recent, though according to ordinary chronology still sufficiently remote, Neolithic Period. The celebrated interments in the Aurignac Cave, the Trou de Frontal near Dinant, the Cave of Cro-Magnon, and other cases formerly attributed to the men of the Reindeer Period have been shown by a more critical enquiry to belong in fact to the later Stone Age. But the relics of Man's earlier and indefinitely more remote occupation of part of the European area are at least conclusive in showing that his fixed habitations during those primæval times were dens and holes of the earth. The fact noted in the last century by De Saussure that caves though cold in summer are warm in winter—the summer heat only gradually penetrating to the interior of the superincumbent rock—and *vice versâ*, was perfectly well known to the men of the Reindeer Period. It is said in the far North that "the forest is the poor man's jacket." It might be said with equal truth that the cavern was the stove of Primitive Man. And a cave being the nearest approach to a fixed dwelling in primæval times, it was natural that when the idea of attending to the supposed needs of the Departed first arose, and the Dead, too, must have their dwellings, that the bodies of the deceased should be disposed of in these natural vaults.

Hence although such interments as those of the Aurignac or Trou de Frontal Caves cannot be carried back, as some have tried to do, to Palæolithic times, they may fairly be regarded as examples of the most primitive type of sepulture. But in all matters concerning ritual mankind is far more conservative than in matters affecting daily usage. The Neolithic race of man had ceased to

be of necessity troglodytic. Their improved axes of polished stone enabled them to a far greater extent than the primæval races that had preceded them to make use of wood for their dwellings. But though themselves enabled to live in artificial houses of improved construction, they were still by the force of religious custom compelled to supply their dead with the troglodytic dwellings of their ruder forefathers. They continued to bury them in natural caves or they stowed them away in chambers in the ground, which in their origin no doubt were simply the underground dwellings of a race who, living in regions where natural caves were wanting, had imitated them to the best of their ability.

Thus amongst primitive races, at least in certain climatic zones, the fixed habitations of the living — so far as any habitations were fixed—and the last resting-places of the dead may be roughly divided into two classes, natural caves or their artificial equivalents, pit dwellings, mound dwellings, and the like. And with both of these great classes of primitive tombs are bound up certain megalithic types.

To take the case of natural caves. The cave, although itself formed by physical agencies, must be artificially secured. The bones of the departed must be defended from roving beasts of prey who would naturally devour any unprotected human remains. This was done in primitive as in historic times by closing the entrance to the cave by a great stone. In later times, as in the rock tombs of Egypt, it might take the form of an elaborate false door. But the primitive prototype of these is to be seen in the rude monolithic slabs that secured the sepulchral chambers, such as those already referred to in the case of Aurignac and in Trou de Frontal. So of the grave of Lazarus we read that "it was a cave, and a stone lay on it" (John xi. 38), and the

Holy Sepulchre itself was a new tomb (in this case artificially hewn out of the rock) with a great stone rolled to the entrance to secure it. This "great stone" rolled to the entrance of the sepulchral cave cannot be excluded from any scientific classification of Megalithic Monuments. With it is often connected an artificial portal, the importance of which in sepulchral ritual is enhanced by the fact that it is the common feature, shared alike by cave tombs and other more artificial depositories for the Dead, of which the Chambered Barrow is the most obvious example.

But although this primitive form of rock sepulture was adhered to, especially in countries the geological conformation of which favoured its survival, it was natural that, as domestic architecture improved, shapes and ornaments connected with later forms of dwelling should be transferred to ornament the walls and entrance of the house of the dead. Hence we find the tombs of Egypt and Greece and other countries adorned with porticoes and propylæa transferred by analogy to the portals of these subterranean chambers. Hence we see the vaults themselves hewn out into the most perfect representations of the chambers of a more civilized age, and enter an Etruscan rock sepulchre to find the very hangings on the walls, the arms, and even the cooking utensils represented in fresco round the mortuary couch on which the Departed rests. But when we find this we are already past that primitive phase of sepulchral arrangement with which the monuments under discussion, and which for want perhaps of a better name have been called Megalithic, are more specially associated. Much of all this affords an interesting parallel to what we find, in a simpler form it is true, in the case of Chambered Barrows and other wholly artificial chambers of Death. But what concerns our present subject more nearly is the persistent and special sanctity of that feature of the rock tomb,

which may best be described by the epithet Megalithic—the great stone rolled to the mouth of the cave and the doorway with which it is associated. It is a highly significant fact that the most typical early Greek sepulchral monuments show us the deceased person receiving votive offerings under a canopy, which represents the door of the tomb. In later versions of the idea we find it translated from its primitive sense into the more spiritualized meanings of the gate of Hades, or in Roman Christian times the "Porta Domus æternalis." In Phrygia sepulchral altars have been found with the Greek inscription ΘΥΡΑ,—"The Door," which carries us back to the most primitive function of the sepulchral slab.

These indeed are more civilized developments, but the sepulchral portal—the common feature in the natural and artificial tomb of early times—will also be found to take a development purely megalithic in its character. I allude to that familiar type of monuments known as "Triliths," and of which such imperfect explanations have been given. I venture to think that these are not, as Fergusson has contended, mere degenerated dolmens standing on two legs instead of four. Their entire proportions rebel against such an origin. But their true original function seems to me to reveal itself from a study of some of the Chambered Barrows of this island as well from examples on more classic soil. Amongst our Chambered Barrows occurs a later class in which the original sepulchral chamber shows a tendency to disappear, until, as at Charlton Abbots, the curving sides of the East end lead to a simple trilith representing the portal of the chamber of Death, which was preserved for ritual purposes when the Eastern chamber itself was no longer considered a necessity of sepulture. Beneath the Charlton Abbots trilith was the actual doorstone,

which appeared to have been used as an altar, and contained the remains of what Dr. Thurnam believed were human victims of alien and brachycephalic race sacrificed to the *Manes* of the long-headed barrow builders. When we find the great trilithic monuments of Tripoli with altar blocks before them we recognise the parallel, and wherever the purpose of Triliths has been ascertained, as in the case of those of Syria containing Roman mortuary inscriptions and those of the Khasi country in India, they are seen to have a sepulchral connexion. The view that I venture to put forth is that they are in fact the portals of the primitive tombs, detached in most cases from their actual contiguity with the chamber of Death by some ritual development, and standing forth as the Triumphal Arches of the dead. Such, too, are the sepulchral arches of which we find so splendid an illustration in the avenued approaches to the mighty subterranean mausolea of the Ming Dynasty in China.

From the cursory consideration of these trilithic monuments, which connect themselves with either of the primitive types of sepulchral dwelling, we may turn to that form of the "house of Death" of which we have so many examples in the Chambered Barrows of North-Western Europe. It was Professor Nilson who first pointed out the striking resemblance—well illustrated by the Danish "Jættestue," or Giant's Chamber, at Axevalla, in Ostrogothaland—between these megalithic chambers, with their entrance gallery and superincumbent mound of earth, and some of the "igloos," or winter huts, still in use amongst the Eskimos. The chamber and gallery of this barrow take together a T shaped form, and the gallery is duly oriented. It contained, besides the human remains, neolithic stone implements and amber beads. The skeletons were found ranged round the inner walls of the chambers, each in a little stone cist or partition,

and preserving their contracted attitude. If we now compare this typical example of one of the simplest forms of chambered barrow with the Eskimo hut in use in Western Greenland, we find the same entrance gallery, only to be entered on hands and knees, and which, as in the case of the generality of the Chambered Barrows, opens on to the East or South-East, on the side, that is, of the rising sun. The chamber itself is of the same oblong form, and round it is a low *daïs*, often divided into separate compartments, on which the Greenlanders sleep in the same attitude as the crouching skeletons in the stone cabins of the barrow. These houses are generally roofed with wood, but in some cases the entrance gallery is covered with flat stones, and the walls also are of stone. In Jameson Land in East Greenland the houses are partly excavated in the hillside; they are of the same form, and approached by an underground gallery. In some cases, as is well known, the Eskimo huts are constructed of frozen snow and are round in shape, answering thus to the round chambered barrows, and, like the other type, provided with an entrance gallery. Finally, the outer circle of the Eskimo's house is often surrounded with a ring of stones.

This parallel alone—taken in connexion with what we have already noticed with regard to other forms of tombs—might be sufficient to show that the Chambered Barrow represents a survival for sepulchral purposes of a primitive form of underground dwelling, which is in fact an artificial cave. Professor Nilson, indeed, has suggested that some chambered barrows were actually dwelling-places of the Living before they became the resting-places of the Dead; and this as we know at the present day is often the case with the huts of Eskimos.

Some of the Lapp "gammes" present almost as close a resemblance to the Chambered Barrows as these Eskimo

huts. The entrance gallery is a marked feature, and the sods and earth which cover the interior framework give the houses often the appearance of earth mounds, as will be seen from a drawing of one existing near Mortensnæs on the Varanger Fiord. It will be observed that in this case stones, which as has been shown are also found round the Eskimo winter huts, are used to prop up the sides.

Taken in connexion with the other characteristic features of the Lapp and Eskimo winter huts, these ringstones seem to me to have a peculiar interest. Just as we have seen the essential features of the barrow-chamber and its entrance gallery reproduced in the Northern mound dwellings, so here we find the stone ring which forms so characteristic a feature in the chambered barrows fulfilling its original and domestic function of propping up the earth of the primitive dwelling.

Here in fact you have before you the original germ of the most advanced megalithic types. Time would fail me on this occasion to trace out the successive stages by which this primitive form, first of domestic, and then of sepulchral, architecture advanced to fulfil a higher religious function. But I venture to assert that every step in that advance can be traced out. The Stone Circle that originally, as in the instances given and in some of the barrows, performed a structural function in propping up the superincumbent mass of earth, becomes itself an independent feature in sepulchral ritual. It separates itself from the mound as at New Grange to form a huge circle of monoliths surrounding it at an even distance, or it may, as in the case of many of our greater monuments, fulfil a ritual purpose by itself apart from any central mound or chamber. The gallery again, which in its origin represents the passage from the central chamber of the winter dwelling to the outside of

the mound, may be prolonged and aggrandised, till by a natural transition it develops into the great stone Avenues such as we associate with so many of our Stone Circles.

Into all this I cannot pretend to enter more fully this evening. Enough, perhaps, has been said to connect the megalithic chambers, galleries, and circles of our earliest barrows with a form of sepulchral cult, which in its origin represented the housing of the Departed in what seems to have been a widely disseminated boreal form of mound-dwelling, into the geographical distribution of which I will not now enter, though it has to my mind a most important bearing on the original home of the first Neolithic colonists of Western Europe. Sometimes, as in the case of Waylands Smithy, we find that in the course of ages the stone chamber and gallery, and the stone circle surrounding it, are now free-standing, the mound having been for the most part washed away by the action of the weather. All examples of stone chambers approached by galleries, however short, may legitimately be regarded as the denuded nuclei of barrows. A good instance of this is to be seen at Mule Hill, in the Isle of Man, where are the remains of what originally appear to have been six double chambers, each approached by a short gallery. They are arranged in a regular circle, evidently representing the original circumference of the barrow that once crossed there.

But although this theory of denudation accounts for the origin of many Megalithic Monuments, and not only stone chambers and galleries, but also stone circles and sepulchral portals, it must not be too hastily assumed that it accounts for all such. Mr. Lukis, indeed, a most painstaking authority, has endeavoured to prove that all dolmens were originally covered with earth. In the face, however, of the existing practice of certain Indian tribes, it will hardly any longer be denied that there was from the beginning a class

of free-standing, or at most only partially covered, dolmens, to be radically distinguished from the galleried sepulchral chambers, and their later degeneration the buried sepulchral cist.

It is unfortunate indeed that the terminology in vogue does not enable us to distinguish the various classes of stone cists and chambers with anything like scientific precision. The term "cromlech," or circle stone, may be given up as a misnomer, unless indeed Sir John Lubbock's suggestion is to be adopted, and the word confined to "stone circles." The Breton term "dolmen" or table-stone remains, however, a convenient term for megalithic cists capped by a table block or blocks above. But here again the term is liable to lead to confusion when applied to the more complex forms of stone monuments contained, at least, originally in chambered barrows, and approached by a stone gallery. To this type I have been, therefore, careful to apply the term "galleried chamber."

But even with this deduction the use of the word "dolmen" must be understood to include two different classes of monument: the cist, namely, that was free-standing or at most only partially covered from the beginning, and the cist which was originally buried. These originally buried dolmens may, I venture to think, be generally regarded as mere modifications of the more archaic type represented by the galleried megalithic chamber. They illustrate the period of transition in sepulchral usage, when the introduction of cremation was breaking down the more elaborate primitive arrangements, and leading to simpler forms of interment. As a proof that this degeneration of the galleried chamber into the mere cist actually occurred, I may cite a remarkable instance of an intermediate type in which the original galleried chamber has shrunk into a mere isolated stone cist of no large

dimensions—traces of the gallery surviving in a rudimentary form, just as in the Charlton Abbots and other long barrows the blind entrance portal was preserved when the chamber itself was wanting. In the barrows opened by Col. Meadows-Taylor in the Deccan, he discovered within the stone ring, and partly or entirely covered with earth, two upright slabs parallel to one another, or sometimes two boulders in succession, placed at the southern point of the barrow, which gave the clue to the direction of the cist within. They were in fact a rudimentary survival of an ancient gallery, from which we must infer that the cist itself was in this case the rudimentary survival of a galleried chamber.

These Indian barrows, however, the base of which covers this dwarfed degenerated form of chamber with the vestige of its original gallery, have another interest as showing us, besides the subterranean cist or degenerate chamber, another cist at its apex only partly imbedded in the earth. Here, then, we have a dual arrangement of stone structure, such as also occurs in the case of some of our own chambered long barrows—a buried chamber and a free-standing cist or dolmen.

Hence it will appear that dolmens and stone chambers and cists at present free-standing were by no means in all cases originally concealed in the earth. Many, as is evident from their position on the summit of steep mounds, must have been partially or entirely exposed from the beginning. Dolmens in such positions, like the massive pile at Moytura in Ireland, the Dolmen de Bousquet and others in the Aveyron, and some remarkable Danish examples given by Olaus Wormius and Sjöborg, could never have been entirely covered with earth; and the same is true of many of the Algerian monuments of this class, to which we may give the name of "Surface Dolmens."

Nor in other cases, where the position of dolmen is not incompatible with the theory that it had originally been buried in a mound, is it at all necessary to suppose that this was the case. Amongst the Khasis and other modern Indian tribes—to whose practice, as throwing a singular light on the construction of more than one class of megalithic monument, I shall have occasion to return—free-standing dolmens or megalithic cists are still built on the level ground.

From all this it will be seen that the "Surface Dolmen" is a distinct class of megalithic monument, to be regarded altogether apart from the underground galleried chamber, or its degenerate form, the underground sepulchral cist. And that this is the case will appear, as I have said, from the example of our earliest Long Barrows in which both forms of monument—the underground galleried chamber, and the dolmens on the summit of the mound—coexist in no visible connexion.

Unfortunately owing to the liability to displacement which stones in such a prominent position are specially open to, very few well-preserved examples of long barrows with dolmens at the top are now to be found. The West Kennet barrow, as represented by Dr. Thurnam, shows the remains of a megalithic structure on its summit, and Stukeley's drawings of some of the long barrows in the neighbourhood of Avebury show that even a few generations back good examples of dolmens set up on their summit were still to be found. In the example given on Stukeley's authority, it will be seen that the barrow is in this case surmounted by what appears to be an open stone cist, composed of upright slabs, capped by a somewhat larger block. This may be regarded as the simplest and most primitive form of dolmen. On the Danish chambered Long Barrow of Hammer described by Boye (*Annaler*

*for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1862, p. 324), besides the underground galleried Chamber at the East end, were the remains of a stone cist or dolmen set on the top of the Western end of the barrow, the top of which was enclosed by an inner ring of circle stones. Another English example will be found in Kit's Coty House, which seems to have been originally set up on the summit of a low barrow, the exact original shape of which, however, is now indeterminate.

On the summit of round barrows, sometimes of elevated outline, and often with concentric circles on their slopes, dolmens are of more frequent occurrence, and examples have already been cited from Ireland, France, Denmark, and Algeria. This form recurs in India, and monuments like that of Pallicondah, in the Madras Presidency, are altogether indistinguishable from those of the West.

Some of the examples such as I have described could hardly have been even partially covered with earth ; but, on the other hand, there is a class in which the table slab or capstone of the monument was originally the only part above the surface. A variety of dolmen with a very wide range is a simple square cist, consisting of four upright slabs and a capstone, having one of the end slabs perforated with a round hole. Such is the well-known holed dolmen at Trie (Oise) in France, one of the supporting slabs of which is at present wanting, and a variety with a kind of heart-shaped aperture cut out of the base of one of the supporting slabs may be seen at Grandmont, in Bas-Languedoc. This holed form of dolmen is common in the neighbourhood of Kertch and in the Caucasus, and numerous examples were observed by Colonel Meadows-Taylor in the Deccan. There can, I think, be no doubt that the object of these holes was the same as that of the holes in some of the door-slabs of the chambered Long Barrows. It was to facilitate the introduction of food or other offerings to the

Departed, and apertures for the purpose, of a similar character, are, in fact, to be seen in the grave-cists of the North American Indians at the present day.

Reviewing then the whole class of dolmens as opposed to galleried chambers proper, we come to the conclusion that while some are undoubtedly denuded sepulchral cists, themselves, in many cases, lineal degenerations from galleried chambers, others were "Surface Dolmens"—partially or entirely free-standing from the beginning. With regard to their general form, we observe that while the chamber of the chambered barrow is often of a somewhat complicated arrangement internally, covering at times many square yards, supported by a whole array of megalithic blocks and roofed by more than one huge slab, the typical dolmen is, as its name implies, represented by a single table stone, rarely supported by more than three or four upright blocks. Its form is simple, either round, square, or oblong, and it has no internal divisions. It further appears that while all sepulchral chambers and cists were by their very nature originally closed, there exists a class of dolmen in Western Europe, in Northern Africa, and in India, which seems to have been always open on one side and to have formed a kind of shrine. In India, as we shall see, some are actually shrines to this day.

What, then, is the origin of this free-standing type of dolmen, a type which, as we see from some of the earliest neolithic barrows of Britain and Scandinavia, was from the beginning coexistent with the earth-covered sepulchral chamber? To regard it merely as a "monument" or memorial is conjuring with words. To a student of primitive times it is a first essential to disabuse himself once and for all of the notion that Primitive Man sat down and invented *tours de force* for a religious or any other object. He did not, we may be very sure, set a single stone

on end without some very practical utilitarian object. His conservatism bound him down indeed to adhere to certain conventional forms, the original reason for which no longer existed. But there always was a reason. In the earliest times there is hardly a line on a pot or an ornament on a hatchet which cannot be traced back to its original source in some practical necessity of the maker. With the slow development of the art, that necessity is perhaps no longer existent; the pot is no longer a basket daubed with clay, the flat axehead has grown into the socketed, but lines and curves remain which those who transfer modern notions to ancient times set down to freaks of ornament, but which are in fact surviving vestiges and records of earlier stages of the art. Anyone who thinks that Primitive Man was capable of setting up a mere useless memorial of a certain form to the departed has not yet mastered the first principles of the Science of Antiquity. Such explanations are a violent transference of modern ideas to quite different times. A religious practice may survive the knowledge of the practical object with which it originated, but if we go back far enough we are sure to find that a practical object did exist.

Of this we may be sure, that the "Surface Dolmen" or stone cist fulfilled in its origin an obvious and intelligible function. And that this function was in some way connected with funeral rites is clear from the whole association of this class of monument. In all parts of the world where they occur they are found either in the neighbourhood of interments or actually on the summit of sepulchral mounds. As a rule, however, these superficial cists are not themselves the repositories of the interments. They are often open. At times they occur, as in the case of the dolmens on the summit of our Long Barrows, *above* the level of the actual sepulchral chamber. They cannot be regarded as

mere degenerations of sepulchral chambers as they occur in the most primitive Neolithic Period in their typical shape superimposed on chambered barrows. And this juxtaposition and contemporaneity of the two forms proves that they must have originated in a different way from the sepulchral chamber proper, and that they must have fulfilled a different function.

As these considerations do not seem to have been appreciated by any writer who has treated of the subject, I may be allowed to put forward what I believe to be the true explanation of the origin of "Surface Dolmens"—an explanation partly based on some observations that I myself have made within the Arctic European zone.

The dual system of megalithic structure, examples of which are still found in some chambered Long-Barrows, and which was very probably an original feature of all,—the free-standing dolmen and the underground sepulchral chamber, recalls to us at once the fact that in the most primitive form of interment with which we are acquainted, whether amongst the ancient Long-Barrow people or amongst modern savages in the most remote quarters of the globe, there was in fact a dual system of interment. It has been shown by a succession of archæological explorers that the galleried chambers of the interior of the oldest barrows, whether in England or on the Continent, present phenomena, as regards the bones contained by them, only reconcileable with the hypothesis that they had lost their fleshly covering and become partially detached from their ligaments previous to interment. In other words these galleried chambers of the Dead are to be regarded as *ossuaries*, and it is necessary to suppose that the body was first temporarily disposed of in such a way as to allow for the preliminary decay of the flesh before the final interment of the bones.

And this inference is, as has been said, entirely in harmony with what we know to be a very universal practice amongst savages. The living representatives of Primitive Man in various parts of the globe are in the habit of temporarily disposing of their dead in a place of security till such time as the fleshy parts shall have decayed away. When by the decomposing agency of Nature nothing but the skeleton remains, the bones are solemnly collected and either buried or actually taken to the home of the living. Thus in parts of Australia, when the process of decomposition is complete, the bones, after being carefully cleaned and painted red, are carried about with the tribe for a while. In many parts the skulls are specially reserved for near relatives, with whom it is often a point of honour to use them as drinking vessels. Sometimes, as in the Andaman Islands, the skeleton is shared by the kinsmen of the deceased, and each howls over his allotted bone. In Guiana the process of separating flesh and bone is accelerated by lowering the body in a net into the river and letting the fish pick the bones. The skeleton when clean picked is hauled up, dried, painted red, and then, if of a person of distinction, hung up inside the house. In cases like this we see that the home itself of the Living may become at the same time the mausoleum of the Dead, and it seems to me that some practice of this kind amongst the Northern peoples may have preceded the complete appropriation of the old mound dwelling to sepulchral purposes. In the Aleutian Islands the Dead are sometimes enclosed in the compartment of the Yourt or mound dwelling which they occupied when alive, the compartment being then filled with earth and walled up, while the other inhabitants retained their allotted lairs as before. This is the "skeleton in the cupboard" with a vengeance!

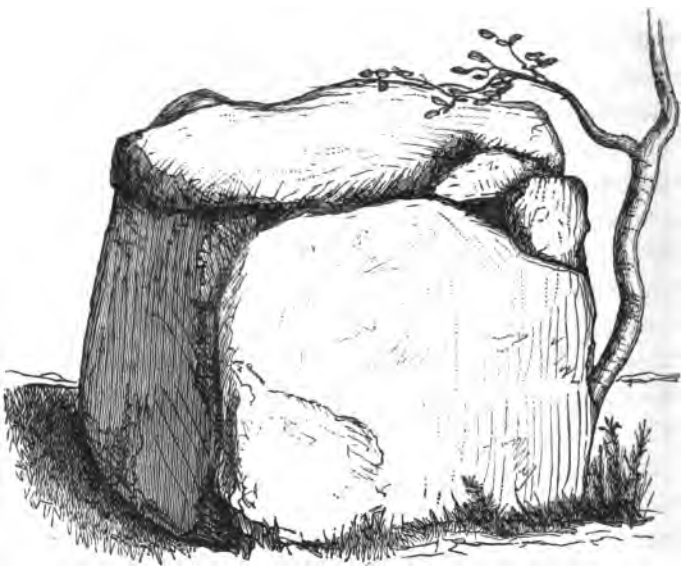
We are, however, immediately concerned not so much with

the ultimate disposal of the remains as with the methods resorted to for keeping the body secure from the attacks of beasts of prey during the process of decomposition. In many parts of the world this is done by placing the body on the branches of trees adapted for that purpose. Thus in parts of Australia the shea oak or casuarina is selected for the purpose, as the branches form a convenient platform, and we may suspect that this practice has contributed much towards the creation of "sacred groves" in many parts of the world. In some cases in place of a tree an artificial wooden platform is made for the corpse. In other cases again there is a kind of superficial temporary interment in a wooden cist. Sometimes this temporary interment or deposition of the body takes place in the middle of the village for better security against disturbance from beasts.

This cist is either free-standing or partially covered with the earth. Sometimes it forms a kind of superficial grave, as amongst the Congaree and Santee Indians, described by Schoolcraft. These Indians temporarily dispose of the body in two ways. They either place the bodies on platforms, or, in the case of chiefs, they make a surface grave, roofed over with pitch pine and bark, and that again covered with earth. The body lies there in a kind of superficial vault till such time as the flesh quits the bones. The skeleton is then taken up, cleaned, jointed, and dressed up in finely-prepared deerskins, and is then laid with the bones of other chiefs in the mortuary lodge, or *quiogozon*, which is simply a finer kind of hut, reared at the public expense, as a dwelling for the distinguished dead. In one form or another this dual system of burial extends through the greater part of Northern and Central America; and it is noteworthy that amongst the Natchez tribe the cists for the temporary deposition of the body, which are raised three feet from the

earth, and are provided with holes near the head of the corpse for the introduction of food, are placed near the ossuary "temple" where the bones are finally laid.

The body, then, is temporarily stored in one way or another, just as meat or other provisions are stored by savage tribes. These, too, are often preserved on an artificial platform for better security. But in the North, where trees



MODERN LAPP DOLMEN SERVING AS A FOOD REPOSITORY, IVALO JOKI.

are low and certain forms of climbing animals like gluttons have to be guarded against, there exists besides wooden storehouses supported on the trunks of small pines, or platforms raised on four poles, another characteristic form of repository. Whilst exploring the wild region of the Ivalo Joki, in Enare Lappmark, I came upon a form of Lapp storehouse, which is, in fact, a small dolmen. It was a square cist consisting of four upright slabs of stone, about three feet high,

capped by a larger table-stone; and the example that I examined contained within a tub full of fish preserved in salted water. It was, in fact, a megalithic food depôt of nomad Lapps — the large stones being a necessary protection against predatory animals. In connexion with this form of nomad depository I may set two facts. Many of the old Lapp graves are made with large slabs of stone which lean against each other and form a kind of free-standing dolmen.

SECTION OF LAPP DOLMEN, SHOWING TUB CONTAINING FISH IN SALTED WATER.

Of those near the North Cape, examined by Herr Nordvi, a very large proportion contained no trace of human bones. Herr Nordvi, the explorer of these, was not able to explain the phenomenon, but it seems to me to point clearly to the practice of finally transferring the remains to ossuaries; and such re-interment, or transference to ossuary pits, is usual amongst the Lapps. At Sodankyla, in Kemi Lappmark, I have myself seen an old Lapp ossuary, from which, indeed, I procured a skull for the Natural History Museum

at Oxford. The ossuary in this case dates probably from the earliest days of Lapp Christianity, but it certainly points to an ancient heathen practice.

That the practice of temporarily disposing of the body prevailed amongst the kindred Esthonians appears from the curious account of their funeral customs preserved by King Alfred. In Wulfstan's description of the East Baltic Lands, inserted in King Alfred's translation of Orosius, these Eastas or Eastmen, who it must be remembered are a branch of the Fenno-Lapponic family, are described as leaving the Dead for months unburned—in the case of kings and chiefs as much as half a year. They were laid, he says, "above ground in their houses" ("licgað bufan eorðan on hyre husum"). To a rite of this kind, founded on the old savage custom of bone burial after the decomposition of the flesh, is doubtless to be referred the ghastly ceremony, still not wholly obsolete, of great men lying in state. The Esthonians, however, had improved on the original custom by keeping the body in a frozen state till such time as they effected the separation of flesh and bone by the quick and improved method of cremation. Their more backward Lapp kinsmen never seem to have reached the cremating stage.

The general results at which I arrive from these data are that amongst the Lapps a form of dolmen cist was used for temporary interment, and that such dolmens are themselves only a variant of a form of megalithic stone cist still used by their nomad tribes as provision depôts.

The peculiar value of this Northern evidence will be appreciated in view of the fact that these modern dolmens, to which I have here for the first time called attention, co-exist with mound dwellings, which throw a remarkable light on the origin of our Chambered Barrows. And the conclusion to which all this points is that the prototypes of the class of Free-standing or Surface Dolmens—whatever

their subsequent ritual application—is to be sought in the temporary repositories in which the bones of the deceased were allowed naturally to divest themselves of their fleshly covering, previous to their final interment in the underground chamber. Thus the original function of the dolmen, according to this view, is that of a *sarcophagus* in its literal sense. The Greek word σαρκοφάγος—"the flesh eater," is, indeed, useful to us, as it seems to preserve a tradition of the primitive ideas regarding such depositories. The Stones were literally supposed to eat the flesh; they incorporated, as it were, the dead man, and thus, in a way, actually represented him. They might be supposed to effect slowly what at a later period, when cremation had been introduced, was more expeditiously accomplished by the agency of Fire.

But such is the conservatism of mankind in all things touching ritual that even the introduction of the practice of cremation does not seem to have destroyed the earlier usage of double interment, the origin of which connects itself with the pre-existing "ossuary" system. The survival of this early dual form of sepulture can be often traced, as I have already shown in the case of the Esthonians, amongst cremation-practising races in solemn wakes and the forms of repeated obsequies celebrated months after the actual funeral, representing, no doubt, the original necessity of digging up the bones, when the flesh had had time to decompose, for the purpose of reinterring them in the bonehouse. More than this, in some cases even the old form of reinterment is practised, though the need for it has vanished. A very interesting example of this will be found amongst those modern rearers of megaliths, the Khasis, who inhabit a hilly tract of North-East Bengal, and whose funeral customs have been so well described by Maj. Godwin-Austen. The Khasis at present practise cremation, but the final honorific

interment does not take place till a year after the body has been reduced to ashes on the pyre. Instead of being laid in their final repository they are placed "under a stone," as it is called, in jars in small stone cists, either round upright stones closed with a capstone or square cists of the most typical dolmen form. At the expiration of the year, but only when it has been ascertained by the general health of the family or by various kinds of divination that the Spirit of the Departed is at rest, the cist is opened, and the incinerated remains are placed a second time on the pyre and again burnt a little, as it were, *pro formâ*. They are then once more collected, and placed in a larger jar in a cist of greater dimensions than the former, known as *mao bah*, the great stone, or *mao shing*, "the bone-stone," along with the ashes of other departed members of the family. These family "cineraries" are, it will be seen, lineal descendants of the ossuary chambers, and the temporary cists are, I venture to believe, in the same way, lineal descendants of free-standing dolmens fulfilling their original purpose as temporary repositories of the remains. Both varieties, the round and the square, preserve in fact the original dolmen shape, while the origin of the cineraries from the original galleried chamber seems to me equally patent. In the example given by Maj. Godwin-Austen the circle stones are present, in this case arranged in a square and representing an original mound, and the entrance gallery as well as the chamber survives in a rudimentary form as a short avenue of upright stones.

Enough, perhaps, has been said to show the high probability that the Surface Dolmens, which appear superimposed, on some of the earliest Chambered Barrows, represent one function in a primitive system of sepulture requiring two deposits, one temporary and one final. Accepting the explanation that I have ventured to put forward, we see that

the dolmen or external cist fulfils in its original form a definite practical purpose. The dolmens which we find on the summit of chambered barrows may with great probability be looked on as having fulfilled this original purpose. But it appears probable that though some dolmens co-existed with the Chambered Barrow, the most developed form of this megalithic type belongs to a later period, when cremation was already practised, and when galleried chambers had given way to mere sepulchral cists. The typical free-standing dolmen as distinguished from denuded sepulchral chambers, is on the whole of more Southern distribution, and the remains associated with these Southern dolmens show that many of them, notably in Algeria, belong to a time when the use of stone for cutting purposes was giving place to the use of bronze. In arriving at a definite conclusion with regard to these, we are beset with the difficulty that they have not been sufficiently distinguished, by those who have described them, from denuded chambers. and have been too hastily assumed, therefore, to be all sepulchral. That some free-standing dolmens in this later period should be used for sepulchral purposes might be reasonably suspected. The rigid archaic rite might demand a temporary external deposit, succeeded in due course by interment in the underground chamber. But wherever causes, such as cremation, broke down the rigid archaic rite, we might expect to find the external cists as of easier access and construction, completely superseding the underground chambers, and in doing so acquiring a massiveness more characteristic of the megalithic chamber than of a temporary repository. Again, we might find that, where the practice of interment under the surface of the earth was adhered to, the external dolmen was preserved for religious reasons, though it might no longer perform a practical function.

The practice of the Khasis is again of the highest value, as showing that a class of dolmen exists which, although no doubt connected with the cult of departed Spirits, cannot itself be described as any longer sepulchral. The Khasis themselves are described by Dr. Hooker—who was, I believe, the first to call attention to their megalithic structures—as a barbarous and savage people, having no weapons but bows and arrows, practising polyandry and tattooing. He describes them as superstitious but as having no religion—a description which, as we shall see, requires modification—since the Cult of the Departed, which attains amongst them a considerable development, must be looked on as a primitive, if not the most primitive type of religion properly so-called. Of the extent to which the Cult of the Departed is carried amongst them, Maj. Godwin-Austen has collected remarkable evidence, summed up by him in the remark that: "According to the Khasi belief the spirits of the dead or demons are the cause of all joy and woe, they give riches, or strike with disease or death." And of the intensity of this cult their megalithic monuments are, in fact, a speaking monument. Some, like the dolmen cists and cineraries already described, are directly connected with funeral rites. But over and above these there is a large class of megalithic monument which is not directly sepulchral, but rather an amplification of sepulchral structures to suit an omnipresent cult of departed Spirits. The origin of this class is undoubtedly sepulchral, but it has in this case received a secondary application.

It is a universal belief amongst the Khasis that the Spirits of the Departed are appeased and rendered propitious by the erection of honorary tombs and monuments besides the actual sepulchre in which their ashes repose. With this object dolmens are erected often on low barrows and surrounded with a stone circle, in strict compliance with

sepulchral ritual; and these dolmens become in the people's mind the actual habitation of the disembodied spirits in whose honour they are set up. I have called them dolmens as their most characteristic feature is the great table-stone with which they are capped, but, unlike the true dolmens of the tombs, they are in this case open at both ends, the capstone being supported by two low slabs or blocks. The tall stones or menhirs, with which they are associated, are themselves a developed and exalted form of the ring stones which surround the true sepulchral cists. In some cases these form a complete circle or square round the votive dolmen or dolmens. In other cases they are arranged to form a part of a circle, or square, or even in a straight line. At times these stand on a circular platform supported as a barrow by a drywalling or peristalith. The number of the menhirs is greater than that of the dolmens with which they are associated. Such monuments are erected for reasons like the following. A sick man having exhausted every kind of propitiation and exorcism of the ancestral Spirit by which he believes he is tormented—such as breaking of eggs, the sacrifice of fowls and pigs, and examination of liver and entrails—will vow that if he recovers he will erect a set of stones in honour of the Spirit, in setting up which all the members of the family are bound to lend a hand. Sometimes, again, they are set up as monuments of gratitude. An old lady of the clan of Nongtariang was much venerated after her death owing to the fact that her departure from this world was succeeded by a time of great prosperity among the clansmen. After some sixty years or more, wanting her assistance again, they raised five well-cut stones to her memory, and in 1869 added five more menhirs. Among the finest known monuments of this class is one described, at Nurtiung, by Dr. Hooker as a kind of Khasi "Stonehenge." One of the monoliths was in this

case twenty-seven feet high, six feet broad at the base, and two and a half feet thick. In another example, described by Maj. Godwin-Austen, at Lailangcote, one of the dolmens was capped by a granite slab, thirty feet by ten and one foot thick, weighing over twenty tons. One of the menhirs here was eighteen feet high. The hewing and heaving into their place of these mighty blocks as practised amongst the Khasis is of the highest interest from the light it throws on the problem suggested by many of the megalithic structures of præhistoric times. The Khasis break and flake the great blocks by heating them along a line and then pouring water on them. For transporting the larger blocks they use wooden rollers drawn by a large number of men harnessed to them by rattan ropes. In order to set a block upright one end is slipped into a hole, one to three feet deep, while the other is tugged by ropes. Finally, for lifting one megalithic block on to another a gradual slope of earth is made, up which the block is rolled by means of the ropes and rollers.

These Khasi examples and other Indian parallels, which I cannot even allude to here, are particularly valuable as showing, side by side with the original sepulchral function of megalithic forms, later developments of the same in connexion, not so much with actual burial of the dead body, as with that cult of the departed Spirits which forms the vital principle of all early Religions. But though I have perhaps said enough to show the association of the simpler forms of megalithic structure with the cult of the Manes, it must not, therefore, be assumed that such a statement would be literally true as regards the most highly developed of the megalithic forms. In presence of great monuments, like Stonehenge and Avebury, though we must recognise their lineal descent from the earlier and sepulchral forms of monument, such as the chambered barrow with its lesser

stone circle and its avenue and trilith in embryo, we may yet be allowed to recognise the influence of a higher form of religious development. It may or it may not be that in such cases the structure is rather a temple of the greater Gods than a home of departed human Spirits. But if it is so, the morphological connexion, which in the course of this brief address I have not done more than indicate, subsisting between these more developed megalithic forms and their sepulchral prototypes affords a most valuable record of the progress of religious development amongst the people who reared them. And this advance from the cult of the Manes, from mere ghost worship, to the adoration of the greater Gods, was precisely what we are led to presuppose from other and independent lines of enquiry. In the beautiful and natural process of religious evolution the worship originally due to the ancestral Spirit was absorbed by the higher creations of mythologic growth. An All-Father of the Sky claimed for himself the devotion originally expended on a merely human ancestor, or the Sun God as the celestial representative of Fire appropriated the offerings of the humbler Spirit of the hearth. But, without on this occasion saying more as to the vexed question of the origin and purpose of such a monument as Stonehenge, I will venture on the prediction that no real approach to its right understanding will ever be made without a constant reference to an underlying and omnipresent Chthonic Cult.

# THE REMAINS OF NORMAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MANCHESTER.

BY ROBERT LANGTON, F.R. HIST. SOC.

FOR several reasons this paper must be little more than an introduction to the subject; for, though many people might think there are no Norman remains to describe, I have found, on the contrary, that more than one evening would be required to do justice to the traces of Norman work still to be found within a few miles from Manchester Exchange.

I will therefore confine myself to describing the remains still to be seen, or recently to be seen, in a few towns in our immediate neighbourhood, and will, should opportunity occur, return to the subject on some future occasion.

I may say that Lancashire is not rich in Norman architecture, and, moreover, that relatively it never was rich as compared with many other counties. The reasons for this are to be found, in the first place, in the great changes that have taken place owing to the growth of our manufacturing towns, and the consequent frequent alterations and reconstructions required in our parish churches.

Then again the nature of the stone used, a friable red sandstone for the most part, is an excellent reason for fewer traces of our earlier styles of Gothic architecture being found here than are found elsewhere.

But perhaps the greatest reason for the poverty of our church architecture in all the styles of Gothic, from Norman to late Perpendicular, is the wet, cold climate of our county palatine. That this is the principal reason I am well persuaded, and were proof wanting we have only to look at the more favoured county of Yorkshire, which, extending fully as far to the north as Lancashire, is yet exceedingly rich in ecclesiastical architecture, as still to be seen in its stately minsters, ruined abbeys, and noble parish and collegiate churches. It is easy to see that as compared with Yorkshire our climate is poor, and the soil cold and comparatively infertile. Hence the monks, who, besides being good architects, were ever good judges of suitable sites, as they were of most good things, built but few fine churches here. These remarks also apply to military and domestic architecture in this county, and to some extent, more particularly as to the quality of the building stone, they apply to the adjoining county of Chester.

With regard to the sites of Norman churches in this part of the country, I have found in those examples I have examined and am about to describe, that they are nearly always on abrupt eminences, and often closely adjoining or near rivers or watercourses.

The church of St. Mary, Eccles, was, according to tradition which is generally accepted in the neighbourhood built in the year 1111, in the reign of Henry the First. In reality the present church is a late and debased specimen of Perpendicular work. The belief as to the date of the erection of this church has possibly arisen from a date carved in early Arabic numerals in which the two *fives* in 1515 have been mistaken for two *ones*. This mistake is of constant occurrence, the *five* having been cut exactly like a slightly curved *one*. The walls are, no doubt, full of portions of the Norman church, and till about twenty years

since the north aisle of the choir exhibited in its east window and gable a very fair example of decorated work. It was then in a very dilapidated state, and was taken down and rebuilt, I think, in 1864. It was during these extensive alterations that I saw evidences of the existence of a former Norman church in the stones removed by the workmen; there were capitals and mouldings of unquestionable Norman origin, and in some parts of the walls then removed I thought I recognised some genuine Norman masonry *in situ*. Whether any portion of these relics were preserved I am not aware.

Passing on to St. Peter's, Bolton (recently entirely rebuilt), I may say that it was probably first erected in Anglo-Saxon times, several fragments of Saxon crosses and carved stones having been found in the walls and foundations of the fifteenth-century church lately taken down. With these were found some very interesting relics of good Norman work, consisting of billet mouldings, capitals, and the wedge stones or *voussoirs* of a Norman arch, the ornamentation of which is known to have been in use soon after the Conquest. So that these carved stones, which are still to be seen preserved in the tower of the present church, and which have been engraved for Mr. Scholes's forthcoming work on Bolton parish, show clearly enough that there was in Bolton in Norman times an important ecclesiastical building having decidedly early Norman features.

Saint Michael's, Flixton: There was a church here in Norman times, and although it has been partly rebuilt twice, in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, the old materials have been used, and traces of the original work are still to be seen. Two stones of early Norman diaper work are now visible built into the gable of the chancel. They will be found just over the east window, on the

exterior of the wall of the fifteenth-century chancel. The eighteenth-century tower of this church is in a very ruinous state, and as it will probably be taken down before long, an opportunity will occur to examine the materials for traces of the original work. I may mention that I have seen stone corbels of a distinctly Norman character in some of the old garden rockeries in this parish.

The church of St. Leonard, Middleton, is a fifteenth-century building of considerable interest. It stands on an abrupt hillock in a commanding position, and replaces a very interesting Norman church, considerable remains of which are still in existence. The pointed tower arch of the present church is built of the masonry of the old semi-circular Norman arch, as seen in the drawing by Mr. Raffles Davison.* The piers, however, with their imposts occupy the original position, and have certainly never been disturbed since the Norman builders first placed them there. That the early Norman church was much smaller than the present fifteenth-century or late Perpendicular building is certain, and the visitor may see how the later builders, in order to enlarge their church, were obliged to extend the nave farther to the north, there being no room on the hill to extend to the south by reason of the declivitous nature of the ground. The proof of this is the fact that the tower and baptistry are not now in the middle of the west front, but many feet to the south of the centre. Norman work is visible in the walls of the tower itself, and the fifth arch of the north aisle, being the one next to the rood-screen, has also a string of billet-moulding for one of its members. There is no doubt that here, as in most other places, the existing edifice is built from the materials of the older

* Exhibited at the meeting. A print of Mr. Davison's drawing is given in the *British Architect*, February 11th, 1877, p. 105.

church. This is altogether by far the most interesting relic of Norman times to be seen so near Manchester; the drawing gives a good idea of the chief Norman features, but it is really worth a special visit. The ornamentation on the abacus of some of these capitals is a sort of diaper, and is similar to that on the capitals of the church of St. John in the White Tower, London, which date from 1081, and which some conscienceless blackguard recently attempted to destroy with dynamite.

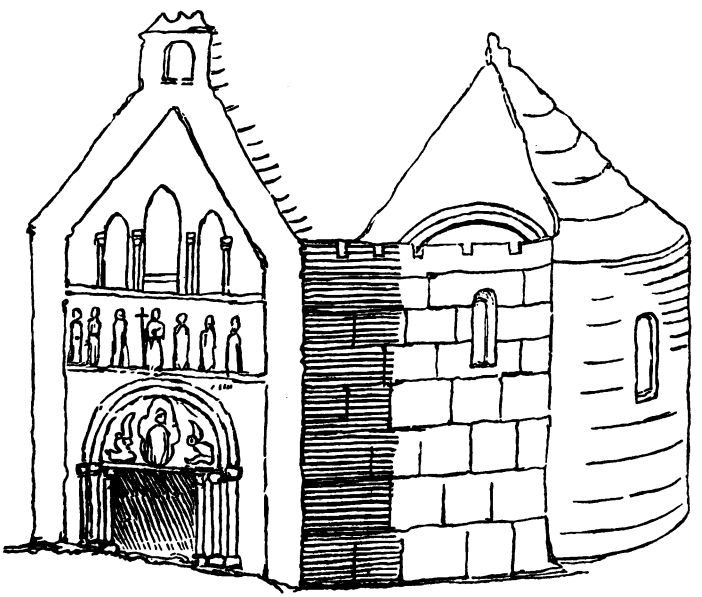
The church of St. Bartholomew, Radcliffe, near Bury, has, among its many alterations and enlargements, some traces of late Norman work still remaining. There are in the nave several piers with their curious capitals to be seen, but whether the pointed arches they carry are of Norman date also I cannot determine. The capitals supporting the chancel arch are very remarkable, and I am almost inclined to consider both these capitals and their cylindrical shafts as of Anglo-Saxon times. The present building is altogether a very interesting specimen of a Lancashire parish church, and is remarkable alike for its Norman and decorated features.

Within two hundred yards of the church may still be seen the remains of Radcliffe Tower, a building formerly of some importance. The basement story, now forming snug quarters for some fine hogs, is of late Norman work. Several semi-circular arches with parts of the solid vaulting still remain, but are fast crumbling away, and at no very distant day will disappear altogether. Large quantities of the masonry have been used to repair and rebuild parts of the church, and a number of cottages in the neighbourhood have also been built from the fallen materials.

Saint Mary's, Prestwich, which was formerly a Norman building, stands on a still more commanding site than any of those already mentioned. As a military position it is

almost impregnable, being, with the exception of a narrow strip of land in the north-east corner of the churchyard, declivitous on every side.

Nothing is known of this early Norman building, but, from the richly-carved capitals, mouldings, &c., recently discovered at the west end of the present church when underpinning the tower, there cannot be a doubt that Prestwich Church was of some importance in Norman times. The fragments above mentioned are still to be seen at the south-east angle of the tower, and, as they are worthy of preservation, should at least be placed under cover.



NORMAN CHAPEL OF S. PETER, AT PRESTBURY, FROM A SKETCH BY RANDLE HOLME (1592), PRINTED IN MR. EARWAKER'S "EAST CHESHIRE."

Two churches in one churchyard are not often seen in any part of England, yet if we cross the Mersey a few miles into Cheshire we shall find at Prestbury the present fine church of St. Peter, built in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries, and a few yards to the south of it and on higher ground the original Norman church. It has been strangely altered during the last hundred and fifty years, but is still one of the most interesting fragments of Norman architecture within the same distance of Manchester.

The Norman features of the small chapel, once the parish church, are confined now to the west front. There is a rather fine semi-circular arch consisting of three members, which, commencing with the inner circle, I should describe as the beak-head, the double chevron or zig-zag, and the rose or medallion mouldings. The tympanum of this doorway was removed about the middle of last century, and is now inside the chapel; it represents God the Father surrounded by a vesica-shaped nimbus with angels with censers in the side spaces. Over the arch externally is a row of seven figures now much decayed; of these the patron saint St. Peter was probably the centre figure.

I have copied roughly in my sketch book from *East Cheshire* a sketch which Mr. Earwaker says was made by Randle Holme in 1592. I think the third Randle Holme could not in 1592 have made this sketch, but if his at all, he must have copied it from "the books of Mr. Sampson Erdeswicke and others," as mentioned in the catalogue of Harleian MS., No. 2151. By whomsoever sketched it serves to give a good idea of this old building in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and though at that time the roof of the nave had gone, this fact enables us to see that the chancel arch was at that time Norman in its character.

It shows also that the church terminated towards the east in an apse. The pediment above the row of figures was of early English design, and an elegant three-light window is shown in the sketch. There was also a bell-cot at the top of the gable.

# POWNALL FEE OLD PARISH CHEST.

BY WILLIAM NORBURY.

POWNALL Fee is that half of the ancient manor of Bollin-cum-Norcliffe lying to the north and the west, comprising the hamlets of Styall and Morley, in the parish of Wilmslow. The books and papers upon the table are from an old chest kept at Lindow Workhouse, within the hamlet of Morley. They have been kept there in a little old oaken box, from which the lid has been broken, under no proper care, and in the most higgledy-piggledy state, and they are only a very small portion of the old parish documents, chiefly constables' accounts and loose documents such as relate to the settlements and removal of poor persons and the binding of parish apprentices. The box seems to have been used more as a receptacle for useless matters in the paper line than for anything else; and doubtless, many papers that would now be of great interest have been carelessly destroyed. One complete book only remains. It was bought for the use of the township by one Isaac Roylonds and another gentleman named Kelsall in the year 1698. In this book are entered, at first, only the receipts, disbursements, and balances of the parish accounts in gross, which, excepting as they bear upon assessments and values, are somewhat uninteresting. But, yet, to all who are natives of the township, it is not without interest to see who were managing the affairs of the parish two

hundred years back; and in this little book there is a full list of the old yeomanry of the locality, many of whose descendants remain to this day. There are Roylonds, Kelsall, Warburton, Corbishley, Cash, Pearson, Stockton, Grantham, Harrison, Smith, Pott, Finney, Thorneycroft, Burgess, Orill, Alcock, Hulme, Armstrong, Coppock, Royle, Bayley, Taylor, Faulkner, Worthington, Whitaker, Bray, Cooper, Bredbury, and many others.

Later in the book the constables' accounts (and constables formerly seem to have attended to many matters not connected with the preservation of the peace) are given in detail. This part of the book contains the accounts for the first building of several of the local bridges; and there are also the amounts expended in the erection of the parish stocks, which stood near the cross on Styall Green, near Shaw's Fold. The old cross has been removed within living memory to where it now stands, near Norcliffe Gates.

As might have been expected in the accounts of constables of an important parish, we find some little information about the defences of the place. In the sunshiny days of the glorious Anne the parish defences were not strong, nor the weapons of war numerous. Still safety was not neglected, and so we find that "the ould musket that belongs to Pownall Fee is with John Royle of the Hole in the yeare 1701." But the "ould musket" soon was deemed inadequate, for upon the death of Anne and the accession of George the First, the national troubles penetrated even to the peaceable valley of the Bollin. And so we read in the memoirs of the Finney family of Fulshaw, "Whilst the rebels were marching southwards, the Government, suspicious of the rich and flourishing town of Manchester, which was full of the disaffected, thought proper to call out the militia of Cheshire to keep that town in awe; and in this corps, as there were many officers whom it was not

advisable to trust, there was a necessity of displacing them, and appointing others on whom the Government could rely. On this occasion Captain Finney, on the fifth of October, 1715, received a warrant from Sir John Chetwood, Sir Samuel Daniel, and Robert Gleg, deputy-lieutenants of Cheshire, directed to John Leigh of Adlington, esquire, or, in his absence, to John Finney, esquire, his captain lieutenant, requiring them forthwith to issue out their warrants to the head constables of Macclesfield Hundred, charging them to give notice to all persons charged with any foot soldiers upon the 17th day of October instant, at what convenient place they the said John Leigh or John Finney shall think meet, to be mustered and exercised by them two days; every soldier to appear completely armed with musket, bayonet to fix on the muzel thereof, a cartooch box, and sword; to bring pay for two days, and the salary for the muster-master. Every musketeer to bring half a pound of powder and as much bullets, and the constables to appear and make returns."

After these extensive warlike preparations, it is no wonder that the town of Manchester was awed into abject peaceableness, and that the rebellion was suppressed; and the old book agrees with this supposition, for the townsmen, like Peter Stuyvesant, having demolished the rebels or awed them into silence, had no further use for their weapons of war; and so, on the 27th November, 1717, they laid by their arms, making the following note in the book: "Memorandum, That the old muskets, bayonets, and carto boxes [the swords would be used to fash their turnips], are placed in these persons' hands underwritten, which promise to keep them in good repaire and return them when publickly called for. As witness our hands.

"Jms. Whittakers owneth to have one musket, bayonet, and carto box.

"William Hulme owneth to have one musket, bayonet, and carto box.

"Thomas Cash, of Morley, owneth to have one musket, bayonet, and carto box. [He was a Quaker.]

"John Worthington, of Styall, owneth to have one musket, bayonet, and carto box.

"James Kelsall, of Styall, owneth to have one musket, bayonet, and carto box."

Well might Manchester be awe-stricken! and it was long before she recovered, and quietness seems to have prevailed many years. Nothing is said further of these terrible weapons of war which had so prostrated Manchester until the 16th February, 1726-7, when it is noted that "The musket, and bayonet and carto box that were with Thomas Cash is removed to William Wilson. The muskett, bayonett, and carto box that was with J. Whittaker is removed to Thomas Warburton." Five sets of musket, bayonet, and carto box, with each half a pound of powder and half a pound of bullets, in the hands of Cheshire men, served to snuff out the rebellion of disaffected Manchester, and one set of these was in the hands of Quaker Thomas Cash, of Morley.

The volume contains a few very rare words or terms, which will be incorporated in the excellent *Glossary of Cheshire Words and Phrases*, by Mr. Robert Holland, of Frodsham, now being published by the Dialect Society. The two other volumes are composed of loose documents found in this old box. They are mainly certificates of settlements, removal orders, and parish apprenticeship indentures. They have been arranged by me at no small trouble in chronological order, and bound in a convenient form for reference. Most of these being legal documents are signed by Justices of the Peace, and, therefore, there are

a great number of the signatures of the old county squires living in the northern portion of Cheshire, and the neighbouring parts of Lancashire, amongst whom may be noticed Charles Dukenfield (1700), Thomas Leigh of Adlington, the Davenports of Bramhall and Woodford, Chr. Rhodes, Richard Arderne and Henry Bradshawe (1715), Edward Thorneycroft (1715), Thomas Parker, Francis Browne, John Long (1720), Clement Sloetenham, Henry Wright, The Wards of Capesthorne, John Pickering, W. Blackburne, Hyde Clarke, John Baskerville, of Old Withington (1743), Edward Byrom and Thomas Parker, churchwardens of Manchester (1744), Joseph Bancroft and James Bateman, overseers of Manchester in the same year, and Justices James Chetham and Robert Booth, also of Manchester, in the same year. Further on are Fr. Joddrell and Roger Comberbach (1752), John Blackburn and Thomas Patten, Edward Stanley, father to the first Lord Stanley of Alderley, Leigh Richmond, Samuel Finney, Js. Worthington of Altrincham, Brocklebank, Clowes, Lyons, Owen, T. B. Bayley, Leycester, Trafford Trafford, and many others.

The apprenticeship indentures are interesting as they show the inception of the different trades at different consecutive periods—at first only agriculture and the different trades connected with rural life; then the Jersey, or wool-spinning of the early part of the last century; then "king cotton" appears, but only hand-spun, along with the Jersey which he was to supersede; then Dutch-loom-weaving, broad-bed-weaving, garter-weaving, but as yet no "power." After the invention of the Jenny, the throstle, and the mule, comes water power and water twist; and Disley Kirk, now called Quarry Bank Mill, is built about 1780, for close upon the heels of Arkwright comes Samuel Greg, Esq., of Styall, grandfather of the present Gregs. For some time after this,

hand-spinning goes on simultaneously with water power; and, last of all, though not directly shown in these papers, comes the "Old Ned," the steam-engine. There is also much in these old papers which, if digested, would throw great light on the life of the peasant while in the shackles of an odious law of settlement which practically bound him to the soil, and his upward movement to his present fully enfranchised state; but this belongs more to the politician than to the antiquary. The militia lists, and especially a most excellent census of Pownall Fee, giving the name of every householder in the parish, the number and employments of his family, whether in agriculture or in handicraft trades, are most interesting and useful documents.

My chief object in preparing this paper is the wish that I have to prompt the members of this Society to save and work-up into some form that may be useful, the many nests of old papers that are lying in our several parishes, or, more likely, that are being used to light the fires, when the representatives of the old English folkmote or vestry meet to transact their township business. A rummage among old township papers will, at any rate, leave this impression—that, for their times, our forefathers were as wise as we are, greatly as we magnify ourselves and our modern affairs. If they had no railways and ship-canals they made turnpike roads and built bridges, and studded our country over with the substantial country granges, around which the people dwelt in an unpolluted atmosphere.

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Sunt duo que vere faciunt me lege dolere
Et grimū dueū quia nolco me morituru
Proxima lex tucbar quod regs nescio morbis
Me magis at redemi qer christi gestio morte
Gaudia cuius ego meritis celestia quero
Henrico octabo
Edwardo dicti
Henrici filio ma
gnifico Elizabetha
suis sororibus flori
bus lilium et anglie re
gnis gaudentibus
Here lieth the
Robert dcuschape
of Ilsterr

MONUMENTAL SLAB,

*From Glossop Church, Derbyshire.*

# REMARKS ON AN ALABASTER MONUMENTAL SLAB, OF THE TUDOR PERIOD, TAKEN FROM GLOSSOP CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

BY F. RENAUD, M.D., F.S.A.

WHEN the parish church of All Saints, at Glossop, was pulled down, bit by bit, between the years 1821 and 1853, an interesting example of Early English architecture was demolished, the likeness of which would have perished altogether had not its leading characteristics been again reproduced by Mr. Hadfield, of Sheffield, when commissioned to build a church for the Roman Catholic community established at New Mills, in Derbyshire.

The manor and church of Glossop, which had previously formed part of the confiscated estates of William Peveril, were given to the Cistercian Abbey of Basinwerk by Henry II., in 1157: "decem libratus terre in Longdendale scilicet Glossop cum ecclesia que ibi est cum omnibus terris et rebus ad eam pertinentibus sicut Gulielmus Peverell eam plenius habuit tempore regis Henrici avi mei." In connection with this religious brotherhood, Glossop Church remained until the dissolution of the monastery, after which the manor, together with the rectorial tithes and advowson of the church, passed by deed of gift from Henry the Eighth to Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

The architectural features of this church, anterior to rebuilding, may be gleaned from a description from the pen of Sir Stephen Glyn in 1849, *i.e.*, twenty-eight years after the first changes had been made. At that date little remained save the steeple, which was composed of a low tower of good grey stone, surmounted by a heavy broached spire with two tiers of lights. The west window was perpendicular and of three lights. The chancel was entered by a Norman doorway on the south side, with toothed ornamentation. Early English double lancets let light into the north and south sides of the chancel, whilst the east end was pierced with a triple lancet window.

In the main, therefore, we have a description of Glossop Church as it came into the possession of Basinwerk Abbey; and also a fairly representative example of other Early English churches, in this and various parts of England, as they were built by the monkish architects who followed in the wake of the Norman grantees, and as they were modified by their immediate successors.

The body of Glossop Church was rebuilt in 1831, when Mr. Christopher Howe was vicar. The Duke of Norfolk, as lay rector, rebuilt the chancel a few years later on. The tower and spire disappeared in 1853.

As commonly happens, when sweeping changes are made in ancient churches, the monumental and historical records displayed on walls, floors, and windows are either lost, ruthlessly destroyed, or deported elsewhere.

In this respect, Glossop offered no exception to a general rule, though it so happened that a monumental slab of alabaster, two feet long, and eighteen inches broad, was set aside by the vicar, not because he attached an antiquarian value to it, but because he believed it could be converted into a more secular use, to wit, a convenient stone on which a neighbouring surgeon might rub down and deftly com-

pound apothecaries' ointments! To its new destination, and for these unaccustomed uses, this slab was conveyed accordingly; but after being left reared up against a water butt for several years exposed to wind and rain, it was rescued a second time from destruction.

The design of the monument is tripartite; and the general adaptation of parts to a whole by no means commonplace. The upper third of the slab is devoted to a pictorial embellishment which includes four human figures, rudely drawn, two of which stand full front, and two kneel in profile. Two are males, and two are females. Incised lines drawn round the group, set them in a sort of framework. The two central figures are richly habited in Tudor costumes suitable to their respective sexes. Scrolls issue from the mouths of each, the lettering on which is defaced past reading. A hammer and a trowel is chiselled between these two. A male figure kneels at the man's side, and a female figure at the woman's; and over the head of each is a remnant of a two-lined inscription, likewise illegible. Above the entire group there is yet a third inscription, equally undecipherable. Of a certainty, these defacements have been done wilfully and designedly, out of a misguided zeal to obliterate everything savouring, even remotely, of the "Scarlet Lady." But a knowledge that such scrolls were vehicles for conveying pious ejaculations and aspirations only, diminishes regret at their loss.

Next below these figures, and again separated from the lower division of the slab by incised lines, comes a five-lined black letter Latin inscription, as follows:—

Sunt duo que vere faciunt me sepe dolere
Est primū durū quia nosco me moriturum
Proxima res turbat quod tēps nescio mortis
Me magis at redemi per Christi gestio mortē
Gandia cujus ego meritis sēlestia spero.

Verily, there are two things which often make me lament:
The first is hard, because I know I must die;
The next thing troubling me is that I don't know the time of my death;
But I rejoice rather at having been redeemed by the death of Christ,
Thro' whose merits I hope to attain unto heavenly felicity.

The central space in the lower division of the monumental slab is occupied by the figure of a bearded ecclesiastic, who kneels on a cushion, and has both hands raised in an attitude of prayerful benediction, a closed breviary being held in the left hand. The spaces on each side are filled in with another black letter inscription, which sets forth the priest's Christian name, the ecclesiastical preferments held by him, and the reigns in which he lived:

Iste Willume first rector ecclesie Weytherliensis Dreyntoniensis, et Sibbesdoniensis in Comitatu Leicestrie Henrico Octavo Edwarde dicti Henrici filio Maria et Elizabetha suis soraribus flori'tissime Anglie steptis potientibus.

This William was rector of the churches of Witherley, Drayton (*i.e.*, Fenny Drayton), and Sibbesdon, in the county of Leicester, in the reigns of those dread sovereigns of England, Henry the Eighth, Edward son of the said Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth, his sisters.

Following immediately upon this, another mortuary record is inscribed in the same lettering, but in English. Originally it occupied two lines and a half, but is now so much defaced that only the following can be deciphered:

Here lyeth the bo[die] Robert Deusnape.

Thus much for the decipherment of all that remains of this singularly preserved and interesting piece of monumental art, dealing as it does with the official life of a prelate whose compliant disposition, it may be, accommodated itself to the abrupt changes which ushered in the Reformation under four such absolute monarchs as Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. The material employed, the sculpture adopted though rude, and the entire com-

position of this memorial slab, made up as it is of pictorial embellishment, sentiment, and personal history, all combine to show that this William was an ecclesiastic of worship in Leicestershire, and perhaps also the member of a family of some repute localized at Glossop. Then again, the circumstance of Robert Deusnape's name being tacked on to the monument at a later date leads up to the inquiry whether he was a blood relation of the priest, or whether he was a person in no way related to him,—one of a numerous family in effect who inscribed their names on other people's monuments, either out of sentiment, superstition, or parsimony in those earlier times. Moreover, a right understanding of this detail helps materially to determine how an ecclesiastic who passed so large a part of his professional life in Leicestershire, and who was not beneficed at Glossop, came to be commemorated there, in a church built on the Cheshire confine of Derbyshire, at a period when intercommunication was so much more difficult and cumbersome than at present.

Documentary evidence exists to show that Thomas Poynton was vicar of Glossop till 1551, when he was succeeded by Ralph Bower, who retained the living till 1574. Afterwards it was held by George Yearsley till 1620.

The introduction of building implements between the two principal lay figures seems to imply that some material additions to the fabric had been made at the priest's cost, through the medium of the then patron of the living, represented in the person of Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, on whom the manor of Glossop, together with the rectorial tithes and advowson of the church, had been conferred.

The chartulary of Basinwerk Abbey, even if it had not perished by fire, would have availed nothing towards

ascertaining the proper name of "this William," as he held the livings recorded subsequently to the dissolution of the Monastery.

All three churches made mention of on the slab are referred to in Dr. Burton's *Leicestershire;* and the following notices taken out of the Liber Regis by this same author show that they were formerly English possessions of the alien Abbey of Lire, near Evreux, in Normandy, the cell attached to which was Hinckley Priory, in Leicestershire.

Ecclesia de Witherley, Patronus Abbas de Lira.
Ecclesia de Drayton, patronus Abbas de Lira, Solvens dicti Abbati septem solidos, ab antiquo.
Ecclesia de Sibbesdon, patronus Abbas de Lira.

As all these three parishes are conterminous, it is singular that the same individual should have been appointed to minister at their several churches, if he was disassociated from Hinckley Priory. But, that it was so, may be gathered from the official entries in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, in 1536. At this date, Thomas King was rector of Drayton; and John Osborne was rector of Sibbeston. No mention is anywhere made of Witherley, except on the priest's monument; and this solitary notice serves to fill up a gap in the Chronological List of incumbents of Witherley Church, which would otherwise be wanting.

As the subject of the present inquiry lived into the reign of Elizabeth, it follows that he held the livings of Fenny Drayton, and Sibbeston, after their relinquishment by the above-named rectors; and it would appear also the different benefices enjoyed by "this William" have been recorded on his monument in their due order of priority.

One brief record exists, however, from which it can be shown that William and Robert were both called Deusnape; and this is to be found in the Hinckley Priory Register, which forms an integral part of the Cottonian MSS. in the

British Museum. This register, though imperfect in many parts, records that, on October 26th, 1556, William Deusnapp was inducted into the Rectorial living of Sibbesdon. (See Nichol's *Leicestershire.*) It is further stated that he held the living of Fenny Drayton.

Sibbesdon Rectory was given to the prior and convent of Shene in Surrey, after the dissolution of alien priories; and when this latter house was dissolved in 1538, Henry the Eighth became seized of the advowson of Sibbesdon. From Henry, it passed in succession to Edward the Sixth, who granted it to Sir Thomas Palmer, in 1553, and his heirs and assigns. Sir Thomas sold the advowson to William Hill, gent., who gave the living to William Deusnoppe, though not without his right of presentation being disputed by the Bishop of Lichfield. (See Nichol's *Leicestershire.*)

That Sibbesdon was Mr. Deusnape's last piece of preferment seems certain, though how long he held it, or when he died, cannot be ascertained, seeing that gaps occur in the priory register, and that the registers of Glossop Church only commence in 1620.

The name is yet familiar in Glossop and neighbourhood, and the existence of this tablet—the general design of which was probably the work of the priest in his life-time—in the more ancient church, leads to the inference that his family was one of some note in the parish and manor, in, and anterior to, the Tudor days.

Only that a certain literary interest attaches to the metrical inscription on this slab over and above any local, historical, or personal interest associated with it, this narrative would have fitly ended here. But, touchingly, pathetically, and poetically as these lines express the varying phases of despondency inseparable from the contemplation of human life, even amongst the best of men,

and iterating as they do the wailing cry of all ages, "Man that is born of a woman hath but few days to live," they are nevertheless not an altogether original composition. So far indeed from this being the case, the three first lines were employed, almost verbatim, to convey the same sentiments quite two centuries earlier, and under a not dissimilar train of thought. They occur at the foot of a fifteenth-century woodcut representing the seven ages of man, which was discovered by Mr. Panizzi pasted into the cover of a folio book entitled *Moralia super Bibliam*, now in the British Museum. The incidents connected with this wood engraving formed the substance of a paper brought under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries by the late Mr. Thos. Winter Jones, then assistant keeper of printed books in the National collection, by whom they were learnedly and exhaustively treated. Mr. Jones showed that the division of human life into separate stages was popular in England as early as the twelfth century, and that, though diversely treated, it was always with a tinge of melancholy at the inevitable termination of the story of man's exit from the world. This paper, together with a facsimile of the woodcut, is printed in the thirty-fifth volume of the *Archæologia*.

The three lines alluded to as approximating so closely in composition to those on the priest's slab are as follows, whilst a fourth line is added as a necessary complement to the word "tria," which replaces "duo," and materially affects the sentiment to be conveyed, whilst enhancing the rhyme.

Sunt tria vere que faciunt me sepe dolere
Est primum durum quod scio me moriturum
Secundum timeo quia non nescio quando
Hinc tertium flebo quod nescio ubi manebo.

Verily, there are three things which often grieve me:
The first is hard, because I know that I must die;
I fear the second, because I know not when this will happen;
And I weep over the third, because I can't tell what will become of me.

Thus, it would seem that, whilst the earlier scribe painted everything darkly, and took a more lugubrious view of human life than the priest, this latter, though employing much the same phraseology, yet mindful of having taught others less instructed than himself in Christian hope, leaves out the third subject of lamentation, and breaks forth instead into a modest pæon that the final destination of his better and imperishable part would be in the abodes of bliss.

# PATCHES AND BATTERSEA PATCH-BOXES.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.

THE period when patches were introduced into this island is very uncertain. It has been stated that they originated with the Persians and Arabs, who regarded a black spot on the face as a mark of beauty, and that the custom of patching passed into Europe in the time of the Crusades. Mr. Isaac D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, says "Patches were invented in England in the reign of Edward the Sixth by a foreign lady, who in this manner ingeniously covered a wen in her neck."

In all probability, however, we derived the custom from France, as in fashionable society the French word "mouche" was used to denote a patch.

Patches were certainly not unknown to Shakespeare, for gentlemen at least, as is evident from the words in *All's Well*, where the clown says, "O Madame, yonder's my lord, your son, with a patch of velvet on's face: whether there be a scar under it or no the velvet knows; but 'tis a goodly patch of velvet."—iv. 5.

Mr. Brooks, in *Manners and Customs of the English People*, speaking of patches worn by men, informs us: "It was at the beginning of the seventeenth century that fops and dandies patched their faces with black plaister, because

the officers who had served in the German wars wore such patches to cover their scars." Mr. Eccleston, in his book on *English Antiquities*, when referring to the custom of patching amongst ladies, remarks that it was not wholly confined to them, for some of the gentlemen "affected a rough sort of military dandyism, patched their faces to look like scars, swaggered about with monstrous swords, or even swung their unwounded arms in an ostentatious sling."

The use of patches by men is shown also by allusions in the works of the dramatists. Glapthorne makes one of the characters in his play, *The Lady's Privilege*, 1640, speak of "black spots," and say, "'twill make your face more amorous and appear more gracious in your mistress's eyes!" Other evidence will be found in the *Roxburghe Ballads.*

In 1651 there was published a book with the following title, *Youth's Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation amongst men; with new Additions of a Discourse of Powdering the Hair, of black Patches, &c.* 8vo.

During the reign of Charles II. the ladies of the Court made their patches of plaister in place of velvet, hence the term of court-plaister.

The patches worn at Court were cut out in the shape of crescents, stars, circles, diamonds, hearts, crosses, and some ladies even went so for as to patch with a coach and four, a ship in full sail, or a chateau.

Butler, in his *Hudibras*, thus mentions them:

> Black patches, that she wears,
> Cut into suns and moons and stars.—ii. 1.

This extravagant practice was spoken of at an earlier date by Bulwer in his *Artificial Changeling*, 1650, who appends an engraving illustrative of the method adopted by fashionable ladies. It is also alluded to in the collection of verses entitled *Wit Restored*, published in 1658:

Her patches are of every cut,
For pimples or for scars.
Here's all the wandering planets' signs,
And some of the fixed stars,
Already gummed to make them stick
They need no other sky.*

In Queen Anne's time patches on ladies' faces indicated the politics of the wearer, as is seen in the *Spectator*, No. 81, where an amusing account is given of "two parties of very fine women," who had placed themselves in opposite side-boxes at the Haymarket Theatre, the faces of the Whig ladies being patched on the right side of the forehead, while the Tory beauties were patched on the left.

The fashion of patching had not gone out at the close of last century, and an exceedingly pretty series of boxes for carrying them was executed at Battersea by a process of enamelling china on a groundwork of copper. Within the lid of the box there was usually a mirror to enable the lady to ascertain at any time if her patch was *au fait*. The outer part of the lid was usually inscribed.

These patch-boxes were in most instances purchased by admirers of the gentler sex for the purpose of presentation to them, as a perusal of some of the following inscriptions will shew:

Vows and Pye Crust both agree,
When broke, the captive heart's set free.

When this you see remember me,
With merry, merry heart;
When this you see remember me,
When many miles apart.

A trifle from Aberystwith.

Accept this trifle.

Esteem the gift from those who give,
And joy attend you while you live.

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* Planché's *Cyclop. of Costume*, i. 388-9. As to patching at a later period, see also Mrs. Stone's *Chronicles of Fashion*, 1846, ii. 412-3.

God save the King:
May no weapon formed against him prosper.

With bread so large and ale so fine,
You soon will have such cheeks as mine.

Look within, and you may view,
A maid to whom I will be true.

Bind me fast or set me free,
Give me love or liberty.

The Miser ope's his trunk of gold,
His bags salute his eyes;
Open this box, dear maid: behold,
What I far better prize.

May the bosom of the British fair glow with the ardour of liberty, and may they bestow their affections on those men only who have the virtue and courage to defend it.

The material of which the boxes are composed is very fragile, and it is therefore difficult at this distance of time to obtain perfect specimens. They are of varied sizes, the larger ones being exceedingly scarce. One of the finest examples known is preserved in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool, and is an elegant example of an extinct art manufacture.

# SOME MODERN INSTANCES OF AN ERASED COINAGE, WITH EXAMPLES OF RE-STRUCK COINS.

BY WILLIAM S. CHURCHILL.

IN our own experience we have been accustomed to see how the coins of our own past sovereigns are allowed to circulate along with those of more recent issue until they have become too far worn for further convenient use. We may take this, at all events in modern times, as the general rule and practice. When, therefore, we observe a complete departure from this usage, it becomes an interesting matter for further inquiry. It is generally for good political reasons when such a departure does take place, although it may not always be so.

I propose, first, to give an instance of an erased coinage from Swedish history, and that at a period of time immediately after the death of Charles XII.

The coinage of Sweden, like so many of the other countries of Europe, had long been confined to the precious metals of silver and gold. They did not begin to make use of their boundless stores of copper for mintage purposes until late in the sixteenth century, or rather more than a score years before our Queen Elizabeth made a first beginning of a copper coinage, and that for Ireland. Its

use was found to be convenient, and it was highly profitable for the Crown, and gradually the use of copper became to be more and more extensive until, in about a century afterwards, it was carried to a greater extent in the extraordinary size and value of the coins than has been the case in the experience of any other nation.

The share that Sweden took in the Thirty Years War of Germany demanded of her great sacrifices, not only of men, but of treasure; and at that time, during the reign of Queen Christina, as one resource in the prevailing scarcity of coin, it was resolved to enlarge the sizes of the copper coins, and to issue small sheets or plates. The first or smallest size was to be of such an amount of copper that should be equal in value to half a daler.

A Swedish daler of recent date is only half of the Danish or rigsdaler, and one-fourth of the Norwegian or species daler, and its value was in our present money 1s. 1½d. But at the time of Christina the Swedish silver dalers were similar to the Danish, or 2s. 3d., and a new value of the daler was assigned for these copper plates, viz., one-third of the silver daler, or 9d.

So these sheets of copper were issued. They bore the initials of the sovereign stamped in a circle with the date at each of the four corners, together with the arms of the district where they were struck. The size of the larger specimens must have been very unwieldy and inconvenient. The sizes in my possession range from four dalers to half a daler, but Neumann, in his work on copper coins, gives five and eight dalers as known to him, and quotes from the *Numismatische Zeitung* to the effect that sizes of three, six, and twelve dalers had been in circulation, and even others of still greater value. They seem to have been in general use throughout the country. We find that in the reign of Charles XI., the father of Charles XII., the

clergy, by their representatives, made him an offer of pecuniary assistance, and stipulated that the payment should be in this ponderous description of money.

A geographer of the last century, so late as 1758, thus appropriately speaks of it in his article upon Sweden:—"There are copper coins, some as big as a man's hand, of several Values, and, as they frequently pay Foreign merchants in Copper, the merchants take Wheelbarrows with them instead of Bags when they are to receive money."

In the year 1714, Charles XII., King of Sweden, returned from Turkey, where he had been residing, since the battle of Pultowa had obliged him to fly from the victorious Russian army. His reign had already been disastrous to his kingdom from the constant wars carried on without intermission since his accession to the throne.

During the king's sojourn in Turkey he had met with Baron von Schlitz, better known under the name of Baron von Görtz. This able man soon attained great influence over him, and on his return home was made principal minister. Fresh warlike enterprises immediately occupied the attention of the king, but there was a total scarcity of money. Sweden—naturally a poor country, and possessing only a moderate amount of commerce—could not afford to the king the sums he needed so sorely for placing his army upon a warlike footing. Görtz, who had an acquaintance with, and also had a great admiration for, the famous Law, first had the idea of bridging over the difficulty by the issue of paper obligations as they were termed. He soon found that the largeness of the amounts in which the issues were arranged prevented them from coming into circulation as freely as he had expected, and accordingly recommended the king to issue small copper coins with the word Daler upon them, which, by proclamation and under penalties, were to be taken at the value of a silver daler, or about fifty

times their nominal value. This scheme was fully carried out, and great care was taken to prevent any ill effects from any imitations of them either at home or abroad, the cargoes of all vessels being carefully examined on their arrival in the ports. The designs, too, were successively changed, in order to place every obstacle possible in the way of successful forgery. Different heathen gods figured in their turn amongst others in these designs, ten in all, and as one issue was declared out of course they could be changed for fresh coins.

The amount thus issued from 1715 to 1719 amounted to eighteen millions of these coins of necessity, or ten times one hundred thousand Swedish silver dalers. They were taken in payment by the king, but with them he purchased everything he needed for the outfit and support of the army as far as possible from his subjects; and thus, as might have been expected, the good money gradually disappeared, trade came to a standstill, great distress existed amongst the people, and the gloomiest apprehensions of further impending calamities weighed heavily upon their minds.

The fatal shot that terminated the life of Charles XII. before the fortress of Fredericshall ended also the career of his able and unscrupulous adviser, and led to the speedy withdrawal of the whole series of dalers associated with his name.

As Görtz was being taken through the streets of Stockholm, a woman cried out after him: "Our God has given thee into our hands; see now whether thy gods which thou has given to us in the place of our money can save thee." The first and principal accusation against him related to the contrivance of this copper coinage, with respect to which he had given to the king pernicious and ruinous counsel. He was sentenced to die, and on the 19th of March, 1719,

was executed before an immense crowd. As evidence of the interest excited it was noticed that at least sixty of the clergy were present, which, however, was not considered by many good people as particularly edifying. The last words of this victim of popular feeling were: "Satiate thyself, O Sweden, with this innocent blood, after which thou hast so sorely thirsted!"

Ulrica Eleanora succeeded her brother Charles upon the throne of Sweden, and most of her small one öre pieces, during the year that she reigned, are struck upon these Goerz dalers. They were converted into blanks again as far as was possible, and then re-struck with the queen's initials, the Swedish arms and date, and were of the actual value of the metal. Most of these pieces show plainly traces of the former coin, and, in fact, it is not easy to procure them without indications of the previous design.

The large copper dalers were continued in circulation down to the close of the eighteenth century. Adolphus Frederic, who reigned 1751-1771, however, is the last monarch who continued to issue them. The Swedes of the present day attach great value to them as curiosities, and show much liking for their possession.

The next instance of an erased coinage to which I propose to direct your attention occurred in Russia, and took place after the death of the Emperor Peter III. Many of you will perhaps remember that he succeeded his aunt, the Empress Elizabeth, and that he himself was a grandson of Peter the Great. His first measures had been popular, but in a short time a great change of feeling took place, and his popularity vanished. He was an ardent admirer of Frederic II., King of Prussia, and had not only withdrawn the Russian forces from any further participation in the war then waging against him by Austria, Saxony, and France, but, further, had even given back East Prussia—a

conquest that had been considered as consolidated, and as belonging to Russia for the past two or three years. His father had been a Duke of Holstein, and the young Russian sovereign showed a marked preference for all German customs and style of dress, which was naturally disliked both by the troops and by the nobles. There was an exception, indeed, to this feeling on his part, which turned out to be fatal for him. He wished to disown his German wife in order to marry a Russian lady. This wife was Catherine, a princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, who was not at all disposed passively to be put away. A strong native party sympathised with her, and gave her to understand they would support her. She resolved to take action, and a body of twenty thousand troops were speedily under arms for her sake, whilst her consort soon found that the garrison at Cronstadt, with whom he took refuge, would no longer recognise him as Emperor. After this experience he submitted himself without further trouble, "like a child being sent asleep," as Frederic II. remarked, and was taken to a quiet residence not far from St. Petersburg, and, as Catherine described it, "with a detachment of gentle and reasonable men, to a place secluded indeed, but very pleasant." Here he died within four days of a "hæmorrhoidal colic," so his wife assures us, "which was complicated by flying to the brain," and this was the official report communicated to the foreign ministers.

Peter III. had reigned six months, and during that period an extensive coinage in copper had been issued, and with a great diversity from the designs followed in the previous reign. He chose to imitate the coins of Frederic II., and other German princes, and had a trophy of banners and weapons, together with a drum, displayed on his copper coins.

On the succession of Catherine the copper coinage was

immediately altered back to the types used during the reign of Elizabeth, and large numbers of the earlier issues were struck upon the coins of her late husband, as may be very clearly seen. These re-struck coins of Catherine II. are much more frequently met with than the coins of Peter that have escaped being so treated. The copper issue of Peter III. was thus for practical purposes erased. There may have been several reasons for so unusual a course of conduct, but the political reason would not be the least important.

The soil of Russia is prolific in pretenders, especially after any successful revolution; and it might well be worth while putting out of sight the evidence of the sovereign that had lately been violently put to death. Attempts at further revolution did take place, and pretenders were not wanting who gave themselves out as the veritable czar who had been able to escape from his prison. Considerable forces were needed to put down the persistent insurrections that arose out of the blind belief of the ignorant serf in the existence of their late emperor.

The third instance of an erased coinage that I now mention will not need many words. It is quite a different matter from the two cases I have already described, and is more an instance how the coins of one country, for the sake of convenience, are re-stamped and issued afresh by other countries.

Spain used to coin by far the largest portion of her silver coinage at her colonial mints of Mexico, Lima, St. Potosi, Santiago, and other provincial capitals. This is a case where a dollar of Lima struck in 1806, with the head of Charles IV., King of Spain, has found its way to India, has there been re-struck and provided with an Arabic inscription. It bears the name of Arcot, where the neighbouring authorities of Madras still carried on the old

imperial mint, like the authorities of Calcutta also did at their nearest imperial mint at Moorshedabad. This dollar has thus been re-coined as a double rupee of Arcot. Shah Alum, the last reigning Mogul emperor, was already dead in 1806, but curiously enough the name and titles of the Emperor Alumghir II., who reigned from 1754 to 1759, have been placed upon it. The old dies that might be lying in store were made useful at the expense of the truth. According to an American authority (Messrs. Eckfield and Du Bois, of the United States mint), this coinage at Arcot from Spanish dollars seems to have taken place in the year 1811. The execution is very imperfect, and many of the letters and figures belonging to it as a Spanish dollar are plainly to be seen. The usual distich upon the Mogul emperor's coins, and which was faithfully kept up for many years by the English at Moorshedabad and Arcot, ran as follows:—"Defender of the Mahomedan Faith, Reflection of the Divine Excellence. The Emperor Shah Alum has struck this coin to be current throughout the seven climes."

# LANCASHIRE IN THE REBELLION OF 1715.

BY ALBERT NICHOLSON.

THE subject I propose to deal with is one which, both from a national and local point of view, is of the greatest interest and importance. It has before been very fully treated by Dr. Samuel Hibbert-Ware, in his book *Lancashire Memorials of 1715* (Chetham Society, vol. v.), and I shall, as far as possible, avoid going over the same ground, as I presume the members of this Society have read or have easy access to his volume. My object is to lay before you certain facts and evidence unrecorded by Dr. Hibbert-Ware, which, I venture to think, very considerably increase our knowledge, and will lead many to differ with the doctor in his conclusions. It will be necessary for a few minutes to glance at the political state of the country in the years preceding 1715.

No sooner had the Revolution of 1688 taken place than plotting began, and in 1689 a Jacobite rising would undoubtedly have occurred in Lancashire and Cheshire had not Lord Delamere promptly called a muster of the militia on Bowdon Downs.

Again, in 1694, Manchester was the scene of the trial of

conspirators, who, though guilty, got off by a curious chance.

The High Church Tory party in the town and neighbourhood was dominant and active, and when the excitement caused by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell spread over the country it found men willing and ready to lead a thoughtless rabble to acts of utter folly and violence. The elections of 1715 all over the country had been much influenced by mobs. In this town, a mob under a mob colonel, whose name is unknown, and a mob captain named Siddall—a blacksmith by trade—for three days had the town virtually in their hands. On June 20th they destroyed Blackley Chapel, and on the 21st Monton shared the same fate. The fine meeting-house in Redcross Street, which cost the nation £1,500 to repair, was also wrecked. Then came the outbreak in Scotland. The Earl of Mar took the field, backed by many of the Scotch nobility, highland chiefs, Catholic gentry, and Presbyterians, and James III. was proclaimed. The reason of this alliance of High Church Tories, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians—so strange a combination surely never was seen in arms together—is fully explained by Dr. Hibbert-Ware. The Duke of Argyll, in command of the Royal forces, could barely hold his own, and Mar detached a body of highlanders under an experienced officer, Brigadier MacIntosh, to join the lowland Scotch under Lord Kenmure, who were out near the border, and also with the north-country gentlemen, who, with Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, had proclaimed King James. These three bodies joined, and, after dodging about to keep out of the way of General Carpenter, were led by a promise, made by the High Church Tory party in Manchester that twenty thousand men would join them should they come into Lancashire, to march south. To conciliate the feeling of the Presbyterians and Churchmen, Forster, a Church Tory, was made

general. There is no doubt his incompetence contributed greatly to the early collapse of the rebellion. Of their march south it is enough to say they entered Lancaster unopposed, Sir Henry Houghton and six hundred militia that he had collected retreating to Preston. At Lancaster the drooping spirits of the rebels were raised not only by the flight of the Government troops, but also by some few gentlemen and their servants joining them. Only five in all, but they were men of position, including John Dalton, Esq., of Turnham Hall, and Edward Tyldesley, Esq., of The Lodge, whom I shall refer to later on. No Lancashire Protestant was here enlisted except the mob colonel from Manchester and the mob captain, Tom Siddall, who, along with all the prisoners from the castle on the Crown side, were liberated. But though no Lancashire Protestant here joined, "one Mr. Paul, . . . habited in a blue cloak, with a long wig and sword, accompanied by Mr. John Cotton, of Cambridgeshire, . . . in a flourishing manner, made a tender of their services for the cause, which were accepted." This was "Parson" Paul, a clergyman of the Church of England, who paid for his folly with his life. The only interest further to us in this man, from a local point of view, is that he and Jack Hall, of Otterburn, were executed together at Tyburn, and that their dying speeches were written for them by Dr. Deacon (then a very young man), afterwards so long resident in this town. Two very clever productions they are.

On November 8th, Paul read prayers in Lancaster church. There is no doubt that though many here joined whose names are unknown, many others here deserted the rebels whose names are also, for obvious reasons, unlikely to be recorded. According to the diary of Lord Derwentwater's servant, Peter Clarke, the afternoon before they left Lancaster, "the gentlemen soldiers dressed and trimmed them-

selves up in their best clothes, for to drink a dish of tea with the Laydys of this towne. The Laydys also here appeared in their best riging, and had their tea tables richly furnished for to entertain their new suitors." On November 9th the horse advanced to Preston, the foot to Garstang. At Garstang it is recorded that one High Church Tory joined (Mr. Muncaster) and some Papists. When the horse arrived at Preston they found the town undefended, and rode up the street, and, entering the church, had to listen to the rector, the Rev. Samuel Peploe, read the prayers for King George. This spirited conduct on the part of the young divine is said to have led to the only intentional joke recorded of the king. Being informed of the act, and being given his name in answer to his inquiry, the king said in his bad English: "Peep-low, Peep-low; we will make him Peep high!" and he did; for, when opportunity offered, Peploe was rewarded with the wardenship of Manchester church, and ultimately held that office with the bishopric of Chester. On the 10th the foot arrived, and many Catholic gentlemen and their servants joined, including Richard Towneley, Esq., of Towneley. There is little doubt that some twelve hundred men gathered to the standard of the rebels between the 9th and 12th. Little effort, however, was made to get this force, now numbering near four thousand men, into fighting order. The gentlemen soldiers seem to have had a good time of it, for, says the diary of Peter Clarke, "The ladys in this towne, Preston, are so beautiful and so richly attired that the gentlemen soldiers, from Wednesday till Saturday, minded nothing but courting and feasting." For the story of Preston fight, I must refer you to Dr. Hibbert-Ware. It would be impossible to do it justice in this short paper. It will be sufficient to say that the Government forces, under General Wills, arrived before Preston on the morning of the 12th of November. Acting

under the instructions of the Duke of Marlborough, not to give the rebels time, Wills had pushed on from Chester to Manchester, where he found it necessary to not only seize some suspected persons, but also to leave a regiment of dragoons. He was met at Wigan by Sir Henry Houghton, who had great influence with the local Presbyterians, and on the 11th a note was sent to certain ministers to raise all the force possible of their able young men, arm them as best they could, and meet next morning at Cuerden Green. The response this met with from Parsons Woods and Walker is well known, but it seems not to have come to the knowledge of Dr. Hibbert-Ware that even a greater service was rendered by the Rev. John Turner, of Preston. The following extract is from a note to "The Life and Times of the Rev. James Woods, commonly called 'General' Woods, a discourse commemorative of the centenary of his death, delivered at the Presbyterian Chapel, Chowbent, by the Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., February 20th, 1859," p. 25, quoted from the Rev. W. Wood's *Memoirs of Rev. W. Turner, of Wakefield.*

"The Rev. John Turner, at that time Protestant Dissenting minister there [at Preston], was, upon the breaking out of the first rebellion, eminently serviceable to the cause of the reigning family. Firmly attached to the principles of the revolution and the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover, he left his wife and infant child, and with many of the younger part of his congregation joined the army under General Wills; by whom they were with great propriety, on account of their knowledge of the country, employed as scouts; to procure information and to observe the motions of the rebels. In one of these nocturnal excursions Mr. Turner had the good fortune to fall in with, and, being of a strong athletic constitution, to take prisoner and bring safe back with him to the camp, a confi-

dential servant of one of the principal Roman Catholic gentry, who was going from his master with some important intelligence to the rebels. For this service he had the public thanks of General Wills."

Marlborough, with a wonderful foresight, had indicated this place as the point where the enemy would be met, and, obeying his instructions, Wills at once invested the town and made many but unsuccessful attempts to carry it by storm. Old MacIntosh had been allowed his own way, and by well-placed barricades in the narrow streets in the centre of the town he was able easily to hold his own against the dismounted dragoons, for Wills was almost without infantry. Luckily General Carpenter with two thousand five hundred horse arrived early next morning. He at once saw a grave error Wills had made in carelessly leaving a way open at the Fishergate side of the town by which numbers were leaving and had left the place. This he promptly put right. Now the motley crew of fox-hunting squires, gentlemen soldiers, ill-armed footmen, and Highlanders found themselves face to face with an enemy whom they must either conquer or surrender to. Forster, urged it is said by Lord Widdrington, and without consulting with many of his gallant comrades in arms, sent Colonel Oxburg to negociate, and ultimately on the next day—November 14th, 1715—the little army, now only fifteen hundred and fifty men, surrendered at discretion. As far as can now be gathered there fell in this fight some eighteen or nineteen on the rebel side, and probably about three hundred of the King's men were either killed or wounded. This large body of prisoners were at once sent under strong escort—the rebel lords and principal gentlemen to London, others of the commoner sort to Liverpool, Chester, and Lancaster.

A number of portraits of those whose names are known in connection with these troubles were exhibited by the writer, and it will not be out of place to give a very brief account of some of them.

Of the Earl of Derwentwater it is unnecessary to say much, as the subject has been so fully and carefully treated in a recent notice of him (*The Last of the Derwentwaters*, by J. F. Crosthwaite. Cockermouth. 1874). It was his misfortune that, by the ties of religion, acquaintance, and near relationship to the exiled royal family, he was drawn into this affair. And there is little doubt that a fear that his personal attachment to the Stuarts must again inevitably lead him to espouse their cause, together with the danger

JAMES RADCLIFFE, THIRD AND LAST EARL OF DERWENTWATER.

the Government felt from his vast wealth and territorial influence, made him a special object of punishment. This was carried even beyond justice in the case of his relations, in order that the family fortune might be reduced—more than one private Act of Parliament being passed to make this possible.

The gallant Colonel Oxburg was a Roman Catholic officer of good family, who, under pretence of a tour in search of the beautiful in art and nature, had during the early part of the year been stirring up the Jacobite party in many counties, and making all arrangements for this rising. It is

somewhat curious his life was not spared on account of his honourable conduct of the negociations and his general character. His ill fortune was caused, there is little doubt, by the escape of so many of his fellow-prisoners and the necessity the Government felt of making an example of someone.

George Collingwood, of Northumberland, a Roman Catholic, was executed at Liverpool February 25th, 1716. Captain John Bruce, a Scottish Episcopalian, suffered at Lancaster October 2nd, 1716.

Captain Philip Lockhart was one of the four officers executed at Preston by order of the court-martial on a charge of desertion and having taken up arms against King George. He had served in Lord Mark Kerr's regiment. He denied that he was guilty of desertion, since he had no commission from, nor trust under, the present Government, the regiment to which he belonged having been broken up several years ago in Spain. Yet he was condemned to be shot. A few days' reprieve was granted, but on December 2nd the sentence was carried out. The Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were executed on Tower Hill, February 24th, 1716.

Richard Gascoigne was a Catholic gentleman of good family, whose ancestors had served the Royal side during the troubled times. He found no mercy, and was executed at Tyburn in the usual horrible manner.

John Dalton, Esq., of Turnham Hall, Lancashire, was tried on May 30th, 1716, at the Marshalsea. He seems to have been an inoffensive, quiet man, and though a Roman Catholic several Protestants came forward to speak for him. After a long trial, in which every effort was made to save him, he was found guilty. "He begged the King's pardon and desired the court to interceed with him for mercy." This the Lord Chief Justice Parker promised to

do, though he told him clearly he ought to have taken the step earlier on and not have given them the trouble of a defence. His life was spared, and eventually he was liberated. Afterwards he redeemed his forfeited estate (an entailed one) for £6,000.

Besides this trial of John Dalton, I have in my collection reports of the trials (on broadsides) of Richard Townley, Esq., of Townley, and Edward Tyldesley, Esq., of the Lodge. Townley endeavoured to show he was amongst the rebels by accident and kept there by force. After half an hour's consideration the jury acquitted him. Tyldesley adopted much the same line of defence, and "He call'd Sir Geo. Warburton and other gentlemen to his reputation who gave him the character of an inoffensive man, and one who had been never heard to speak with disrespect of the Government." He was also acquitted. The real reason for their lucky escape was that their trial took place the day after the execution of Colonel Oxburg at Tyburn, which had been carried out in the usual barbarous and horrible manner, and his head placed on Temple Bar. So unwilling were the jury to have another such scene that they acquitted both prisoners, calling forth a strong reprimand from Baron Montague for their conduct when he dismissed them two days after.

Jack Hall, of Otterburn—whose trial is also on the broadsides, though under the name of Thomas Hall—was not so fortunate; he was condemned, and being specially exempted from the general reprieve, suffered the extreme penalty of the law along with the Rev. William Paul, who, though not in Preston when the surrender took place, was seized in London shortly afterwards.

Robert Talbot's trial will also be found on the sheet. He, along with that fine old soldier Brigadier MacIntosh and six others, knocked down the warders, seized the guard,

and escaped out of Newgate the day before their trial was to have taken place. As ill-luck would have it, he was retaken, tried, and condemned; the others got clear off. I think I am correct in saying that his life was spared by the general reprieve of July 7th, 1716. Only six in all were executed in London, and most if not *all* of these would have saved their lives if they would have consented to take the oath of allegiance.

We now return to Lancashire. Early in January, 1716, a commission of oyer and terminer was sent down to the Whig town of Liverpool to try such of the prisoners as were there and at Chester. The choice of Liverpool as a Whig stronghold seems to us in these days rather a curious one, as, during the nineteenth century, except perhaps in the first few years, it has been notoriously Tory. But in 1716 the opposite was the case, and it was in Manchester that High Church, non-jurant Toryism held sway, and was continually a thorn in the side of the Hanoverian Government. On the outbreak of the rebellion the townspeople had roughly fortified the place, the sailors dragging up cannon from the ships for the defences. As showing the liberal and tolerant sentiment of the Church party in the town, I may mention that within a few years of this time, on the deaths of my ancestors, Matthew Nicholson and his wife Dorothy, which occurred within a week—they belonging to the Presbyterian body, as the Arian Congregation was then called—a funeral sermon was preached for them by the rector in the parish church. To those acquainted with the violent feeling of hostility to dissent then and afterwards found in Manchester and other towns, this will seem a most extraordinary fact.

On January 11th, the Rev. Samuel Peploe, M.A., vicar of Preston, preached before the judges, high sheriff, gentlemen of the grand jury, the mayor, and other gentlemen.

A copy of this discourse, and others that I propose to read you notes from, were presented to the Free Reference Library by our Vice-President, Sir Thomas Baker, with a number of rare and curious tracts and books, which form a collection of extreme value to those interested in the history or literature of this time. I desire personally to express my deep obligation to him as the donor of this valuable collection.

Peploe points out the evident advantage to Papists in joining in this rebellion, but that for Protestants and Churchmen to support a Roman Catholic Pretender is inexcusable. We find him alluding to the Pretender (as do all these writers) as "indeed of a disputed family." The supposititious birth of the son of James the Second seems then to have been treated as a fact by the Whig party. The following passage shows the temper in which the gentlemen were asked to sit down to the trial of the prisoners. It is only fair it should be borne in mind that at this time James the Second's son was actually in Scotland, and half that kingdom in the hands of his armed followers. "While the Bishop of Rome has disciples among us, we must expect designs against our religion and liberties; and without all doubt, 'tis our Wisdom and Interest to observe their motions with all possible care and vigilance. Their separate strength indeed is not very formidable, but by their restless Application, and the Influence of their Estates, in this and a few other countries, they are capable of disturbing the Publick Peace, as we find by the late Insurrection. . . . The nation seems now to have an Opportunity of putting it out of the Power of our enemies, so much as to threaten us with Danger for the Time to come." He further says "that it is necessary that justice should be done to the present Rebellion," and asks how far favour or impunity to such persons may

effect the peace and felicity of this Kingdom . . . and especially because we cannot be ignorant how far jesuitical evasions of oaths and other obligations to the government have of late been in reputation among us." He lays the blame for the outbreak on the laxity in punishing the late riots and tumults in the country, and hints that many were ready and willing to join the enemy but for "the late seasonable Victory," and, after calling attention to the apathy of some, says, "to the lasting honour of" others, "that they took a contrary course . . . and by their early vigilance and activity, contributed to the speedier deliverance of their country." In the assize that followed probably seventy-four persons were tried and condemned, and most, if not all, were executed either in Liverpool, or sent in batches to the towns of Manchester, Preston, Wigan, Garstang, or Lancaster. Three—Wm. Harris, shoemaker, Stephen Seager, Jos. Porter, labourers, Burnley — were executed at Manchester, February 11th, 1816.

On the 24th day of May following we again find the Rev. Samuel Peploe preaching a sermon before Judge Dormer at Lancaster. It is a most remarkable disquisition on history from an undoubtedly able man, and shows to what an extent it is possible prejudice may blind a partisan. He attributes the civil wars and the death of Charles the First both to Catholic designs to subvert the Protestant religion and government. Again, according to his theory, after the Restoration, "Visible, indeed, were their contrivances." "They early obtain'd this step to gain their point, viz., in preventing that Prince who then came to the throne having any legal issue." He hints that the Papists caused the death of Charles the Second, and argues at length against Popery and its intolerance. He then turns to the providential preservation of William the Third on all occasions, the glory of Anne's reign, till a

change was wrought by the wicked designs of the High Church Tory party who betrayed their country in foreign parts, and had not the Queen died before they had concluded their designs would have done so at home. Speaking of the King he describes him as "a wise, sober, valient, and rich monarch." He alludes to the groundlessness of the outcry of cruelty when only one in a hundred of the prisoners had suffered the penalty of their crime. He finishes up by desiring that there may be only two sides known in this country, those that are for King and Constitution and those who are for Popery and the Pretender.

I shall next notice a sermon preached at Manchester on May 8th, 1716 (in the chapel in Cross Street), by the Rev. James Grimshaw. After speaking of their providential deliverance from what he describes as the worst of the many bloody attempts to subvert the Protestant religion in the eleven reigns since the Reformation, he urges unity and readiness to meet the enemy. After congratulating them on their newly-restored meeting-house, he refers to the punishment meted out to the rebels, and does not think it a whit too severe, but, like all the Presbyterian writers of his time, has a lively sense of the great dangers they have so narrowly escaped. On the first anniversary of the victory at Preston, November 14th, 1716, the Rev. Jeremiah Aldred* preached an able sermon in the Cross Street Chapel. After a brief history of the preceding thirty years, he says the rebels caused a considerable deal of bloodshed both in North and South Britain, and in a stirring passage which follows points out how "in these parts there was but a step between us and

* The full titles of the sermons mentioned are given by Sir Thomas Baker in his *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel.*

death," urges all "never to forget the hand that saved" them. The thanksgiving sermon preached on the second anniversary, November 14th, 1717, was by the Rev. Charles Owen. This is a masterly and well-written address, pointing out clearly the untenable nature of the claim to divine right of kings, quoting the remarkable passage from Bishop Sanderson to the effect that under *no* circumstances can it be lawful to take up arms against a king ending "no nor yet (if it be imagined possible) for the salvation of a soul, no nor for the redemption of the world." And after recalling the bloody persecutions that have been carried on even in the reign of the Second Charles in part of this kingdom (Scotland) points out that had they—the rebels—succeeded "they would have put a full period to all civil and religious Privileges, such a spreading ruin would have been the genuine issue of those fatal doctrines." In a passage at the close of his address he says, evidently in answer to the Jacobite complaint of excess in the punishment of the rebels, "that no further severity was used than was absolutely necessary to the being of national Justice," and compares it with the barbarities practised in the West. This, of course, refers to the disastrous attempt of the Duke of Monmouth.

In 1718 the Rev. J. Mottershead was the preacher; and again, in 1719, we have a thanksgiving sermon from the Rev. Joshua Jones.

In all of these discourses the clear fact is set forth that, in the minds of these mature and thoughtful men, should the Jacobite cause prevail, there was no doubt of the total loss of all rights and liberties, the utter ruin of their country, and that life itself would be in the utmost jeopardy. And on the other hand it is evident that they and their audience were and had been ready, as one of them says, to oppose the common enemy "even unto blood."

It would, I feel, be wearisome to go at further length into this question; but let anyone who cares to get at the truth on this point read some of this literature, and carefully consider if he can then endorse the oft-repeated explanations of Dr. Hibbert-Ware of the reasons which prevented this High Church Tory party from performing their promise to join their Roman Catholic friends when the hour of trial came. Dr. Ware asserts—"The true cause of the feeble support which, when the rebellion actually broke out, the High Church Tories gave to the Jacobite cause," was "the humiliating reflection which must have often intruded itself, that their party was *in a false position*" (p. 267). Whether the position was a false one or not, there is no doubt of the fact that it was maintained for another thirty-five years. At the outbreak in 1745, the diminished number of the Roman Catholic adherents of the Jacobite cause was more on account of the repressive measures taken after 1715 than in a loss of friendship with the High Church Tories. We must assume that they had some knowledge of history, yet for fifty years they never ceased plotting to place on the throne a prince who, even if he ruled the state to their liking, would be a consistent and bitter enemy of their Church. Was not the fact this—that they found the blood of their fellow-citizens up; their hands were not only on their swords, but they had in some cases actually drawn them. They meant to fight, and in these parts, with Liverpool held by a bold and defiant garrison of staunch supporters of the king, a regiment of dragoons quartered in Manchester, and Wills advancing quickly through the county to meet the northern Lords and their followers, they saw clearly, as we do now, that the game was too dangerous. With their promises they had misled many brave and gallant men to an awful fate; but with a cowardice that nothing can justify, the members of the High Church Tory party

of Lancashire stopped at home and kept their heads on their shoulders.

There is one more book I will briefly mention which has just been published, "The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715, being a Summary of the Register of their Estates, with Genealogical and other Notes, &c.," by Estcourt and Payne. The Lancashire portion of the list and its accompanying notes, though singularly brief and wanting in information that could easily have been obtained, ought to be carefully read. It will be here clearly seen that the government had no handful of poor peasants plotting against them, but a large and wealthy body of men, well organized by their priests and others, and in constant communication with the exiled prince. The wonder is that with so much inflammable matter the fire did not spread quicker. There is little doubt, had the force taken at Preston marched on at once and got to Manchester, there would have been much bloodshed ere the government could have suppressed the rebellion.

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At the recent sale of the Townley MSS., the Burnley Literary and Scientific Club had the good fortune to purchase a diary, evidently a record by the priest who officiated in the private chapel at Townley Hall, of the masses he celebrated. The secretary of the Club, Mr. Grant, has kindly sent me the extract which I append. When one recalls the terrible suspense, the anxiety, the bloody fight in the streets of the neighbouring town, the very sound of which was heard on Pendle Hill, but a few miles from the hall, these words seem to me, with a wonderful brevity, to have a marvellously pathetic interest.

FROM MEMORANDUM BOOK OF A PRIEST AT TOWNLEY, FROM 1706 TO 1722.

| 1715. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Novr. 3 | ... ... | Mass celebrated for our King James III. | |
| 4 | ... ... | ,, | ,, |
| 12 | ... ... | ,, | ,, |
| 13 | ... ... | ,, | the Soldiers. |
| 14 | ... ... | ,, | ,, |
| 17 | ... ... | ,, | patience and resignation. |
| 18 | ... ... | ,, | resignation. |
| 19 | ... ... | ,, | our King James III. |
| 20 | ... ... | ,, | freedom of the captives. |
| 23 | ... ... | ,, | conversion of England. |
| 27 | ... ... | ,, | our King James III. |
| 28 | ... ... | ,, | deliverance to the captives. |
| 30 (S. Andrew's day) | | ,, | Scotland. |
| Decr. 29 | ... ... | ,, | conversion of England; and our King James III. |
| 30 | ... ... | ,, | Our King James III. |

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The broadsides containing reports of the trials of some of the Lancashire Jacobites of 1715, and referred to in the above paper, are of great rarity, if they are not, indeed, unique. For this reason, and on account of their local interest, it has been thought well to reprint them here.

LONDON, May 17, 1716.

THE WHOLE

## TRIAL AND EXAMINATION

OF

RICHARD TOWNLEY, EDWARD TILDESLY, AND THOMAS HALL, ESQRS; AND ROBERT TALBOT, GENTLEMAN.

ON Tuesday last came on the Trials of Richard Townley of Townley, and Edward Tildesly of the Lodges Esqrs. both gentlemen of the county of Lancaster:

Against the Former it was sworn, That he appear'd among the Rebels at Preston, was present with them in several Places: That there was a Troop among them, call'd Mr. Townley's Troop, consisting of about 20 Men, which

had all Arms of one Sort or other; and in this Troop were his Coachman, his Buttler, and his Postillion: It was observ'd likewise, That there had been Money offer'd to one of the King's Witnesses to go out of Town, and not give Evidence. His Council said in his Defence, That they did allow there had been a very vile and unnatural Rebellion carried on, and that it had been sworn that the Prisoner was among the Rebels, but that it did not appear that he acted any Part among them; but they hop'd to shew he came thither by constraint: And as for that which was call'd his Troop, it was an easie, nay, a very specious matter for the Rebels to give a Reputation to a bad Cause, to distinguish their Forces by the Names of gentlemen of the best Credit in the Country: That it was true, one of the King's Evidence swore, That he saw him in a red Wastcoat, and a Blunderbuss on his Arm, at the Head of his Troop; but they call'd Evidence, who depos'd, That there was a Person so distinguish'd, but his Name was Lennard, and that Mr. Townley had no such Waistcoat on during his being at Preston. He call'd Witnesses to prove, That he left his House for fear of being secur'd by the Militia of the Country, who were then gathering together, and that they went so far in order to it, that they came but a very little Time after he was gone, and search'd for him: That being driven from his own Home, he went towards Rochdale, and there came to the House of one Mrs. Ramsden, near the Town, whom he desir'd to conceal him, which she consented to; but the King's Forces at that Time marching that Way, she told him, she fear'd he could not be safe there, and advis'd him to go into Yorkshire; but he answer'd, That would not be safe neither, for the King's Forces were up there, and he should be seiz'd: That accordingly he set out from thence, having only one Servant with him, designing to go towards the Western Side of Lancashire, which he judg'd most safe, but by the Way was seiz'd by the Rebels, and carried Prisoner to Preston, where he alledg'd, that he remain'd under Restraint all the Time, his Horses secur'd, and himself so watch'd, that he could not escape from them as he intended. 'Tis added, that the Servant who then rode with him, was a Prisoner in Chester, and cou'd have spoke to many of these Particulars; but tho' he had applied to have him up, he understood it cou'd not be done. As for his Servants who were among the Rebels, they had been sent away with his best Horses, that they might not be seiz'd by the Militia. The King's Council observ'd, That it was very extraordinary, that the Prisoner should fly from the Militia, and go for safety to the Rebels; or fear going towards Yorkshire, because the King's Forces were there, who if they had seiz'd him, would have done him no manner of Wrong, but rather have been a Protection to him: That as to his being taken by the Rebels, and carried violantly to Preston, there was no Proof of it, and every one might alledge the same: That as to his being brought Prisoner to the Guard, it was usual in all Garrisons, when any Strangers enter the Town, to carry them to the Guard to be examin'd; but it appear'd, that as soon as he had discover'd who he was, he had been set at Liberty, and went where he wou'd, and might easily have made his Escape; it appearing by the King's Evidence, that he walk'd where he wou'd, and several People went in and out during the Time he was there, yet he remain'd in the Town till the last: That

it seem'd strange likewise, that he should send his Servants with his Horses to the Rebels, who were actually in their Service, under Pretence of securing them. Mr. Townley himself said, that what was alledg'd by the King's Council of his flying from the Militia, or fearing to fall into the Hands of the King's Forces, who would have done him no Wrong, might be true to others; but in the case of Roman-Catholicks, on such Occasions they were usually taken up, their Horses and Arms seiz'd, and themselves confin'd, so that at best it was very chargeable and troublesome to them, to avoid which, they usually retir'd till the Noise was over, and then return'd with safety to their own Houses. He likewise call'd Witnesses to prove that he wou'd have hir'd a Horse to get away from Preston; whether this was before the King's Forces were upon them, or after, did not appear, nor that he seem'd dissatisfied with the Rebellion. Upon the whole the Jury went out, and after half an Hour's Stay, brought him in Not-Guilty.

Edward Tildesley was next try'd. Against him it was sworn by one Evidence, That hearing a Shout he ran to see what was the Matter, and heard presently that Mr. Tildesley's Troop was come. That thereupon looking out, he saw him at the Head of about 20 Men, some of them arm'd, riding with his Sword drawn. There were other Evidence who depos'd, they saw him come into the Town with such Men, but none to the particular of his Sword being drawn, but that one; nor that he appear'd to head them any Time after, or was in any Action, but that they were always call'd Mr. Tildesley's Troop. It was prov'd that he was seen with some of the Rebels, and had din'd with them, his own Servant waiting on him. To all which his Council answer'd for him, That as to the Troop going by his Name, the Reason had been accounted for before. It was true, one Evidence swore that he saw him with his Sword drawn, but it was to be observ'd that he said it was about 5 or 6 of the Clock, which at that Time of the Year was usually dark, and the Evidence might not only be deceived in the Article of his Sword being drawn, but even in the Person himself; but for the latter, it would be easily shewn how he came there, for which they call'd Evidence. One swore, That she was his House-keeper, and that on Friday Morning a great Number of arm'd Men came to his House and said, they wou'd have him away with them, that they staid some time, and refus'd to let the Evidence go near him, saying, She should not hinder him from going along with them, and accordingly took him away. Another Evidence swore, That he came that Night to her House and she procur'd him a Lodging, and that he exprest himself dissatisfied with the Manner of his coming thither. He likewise call'd Evidence, that he would have got a Disguise, and a Womans Cloaths were actually getting ready for him, and that he wou'd have hir'd a Horse, his own being known to have gone out of the Town, but then, Whether this was before or after the King's Forces were coming up to the Town, was not proved.

There was one Witness indeed that swore it at Nine in the Morning, that he treated with him for a Horse to go home on, and it seems the Jury credited the Plea, That he was kept by constraint; for he was likewise acquitted. He call'd Sir George Warburton and other Gentlemen, to his Reputation, who

gave him the Character of an inoffensive Man, and one that had been never heard to speak with Disrespect of the Government.

Yesterday the Proceedings against the Rebels were resum'd at the Exchequer-Court at Westminster, and the Tryal of Mr. Gascoigne being referr'd 'till to-Day, Thos. Hall, Esq; of Otterburn, in the County of Northumberland was set to the Bar: The Evidence deposed, That he joyn'd the Rebels soon after their Meeting at Plainfield, and march'd with them to Preston, where he was taken. One Evidence was very positive of seeing him at Rodberry, and that he was there with other of the Rebels. Mr. Patten said, He saw him on Horseback among the Rebels near Wooller: But his Council disputed, Whether that Place was within the County of Northumberland; for otherwise that Indictment would fall, and the Attorney-General might bring another Indictment laid in any other Place, if he saw good: But there was one Evidence who pretty plainly made this Place out to be within the Limits of the aforesaid County. The Prisoner himself said, That being a Justice of the Peace, he was at the Sessions of Alnwyke, when he heard of the Meeting at Plainfield, That he rode thence to a Friend's House, where he lay all Night, and was going home next day, when on a sudden, he and his Man was surrounded by the Rebels, and carried away by Violence. His Servant depos'd this, and that his Master was never at Rodberry in the Time that had been sworn, but was constantly kept under a guard of the Rebels; but being cross-examin'd, he appear'd very backward in answering some Questions that were asked him by the King's Council, nor did it appear, even by his Evidence, that his Master's Horses were confin'd, but that he look'd after, and had the charge of them as usual, and his Master rode them at Pleasure. Mr. Patten likewise said, That he never saw any Restraint laid on him, but that he was as much at Liberty as himself. He call'd some to prove, that he had expressed his Dissatisfaction at being forc'd along with the Rebels, and said, That he had no Disaffection to the Government. But it was observed in the Charge to the Jury, which was spoke to by the whole Bench, That as it was without Doubt, If a Man was seen among the Rebels, tho' even he had been forc'd thither, and had opportunities after (as it appear'd the Prisoner had frequent ones) to escape from them, and did not do it, but continued with his Presence to abet and comfort them, yet it was Treason within the Law: That if that Alligation, of being forc'd away, were suffered to pass, it would be next to Impossible, to come at Evidence to prove them Guilty, since every Man might pretend the same Thing, and that that might pass for Force, which was indeed only their own Consent and Contrivance. After a pretty long Tryal the Jury found him Guilty.

Rob. Talbot was afterwards try'd: The Evidence against him was very full; It was sworn, That he was present with the Rebels on the whole March from Kelso to Preston, and had the Name of a Captain among them, commanding a Troop of about 24 Horse; that at several Places he drew up and disciplin'd the said Troop, march'd constantly at their Head, and particularly drew them up round the Cross at Morpeth, and was present with them whilst the Proclamation was reading there, for Proclaiming the Pretender. That he

likewise drew them up, and headed them in the Attack at Preston, being then on Foot. He made very little Defence, and desired that his Tryal might be deferr'd for a Day, under Pretence of wanting an Evidence, but this had been before over rul'd, and he was found Guilty, and Sentence of Death was pronounc'd upon them both.

DUBLIN, Printed by GWYN NEEDHAM on Cork-Hill.

THE WHOLE

# TRIAL AND EXAMINATION

OF

## JOHN DALTON, ESQR;

AT THE MARSHIALSEA IN LONDON ON WEDNESDAY THE 30TH OF MAY, 1716.

AGAINST this Gentleman it was deposed, That he met the Rebels at Lancaster, and was there seen with the Earl of Derwentwater, the Lord Widdrington and others; and that the said Earl, with a number of other Rebels, came to Mr. Dalton's House on Tuesday, where they staid all Day, and that he went away with them. One Evidence said, in particular, That he saw him at Lancaster on the Monday, in the Company before-mention'd, and again on the Wednesday Morning, when she heard him say, The Business is now done, we have nothing to do but to march to Preston. Another said, That they heard on the Sunday, That the Rebels were to be at Lancaster the next Day, when it was clear, even by his own Evidence, That the next Morning he rode out but with one Servant, and went to Lancaster, as the Evidence had sworn, which was not at all disputed.

He was likewise prov'd by several to have been with the Rebels at Preston, particularly the Hostler at the White-Bull-Inn, where he usually set up his Horses when he came to that Town, who said he ran to him to have taken his Horses; but he told the said Evidence, that he was going further. Another remarkable Passage of his being (and confederating) with the Rebels, was prov'd by the servant of one Chorley of Preston. This Chorley had some Time before seiz'd a Horse of the Prisoners, by Vertue of the Act of Parliament, which directs, that no Papist shall keep Horses of such a Size; and when the Rebels were Masters of Preston, Mr. Dalton came to the Witness Chorley's Man, and demanded the Horse; the Witness answering him, That his Master was not at Home (he being gone away with the Dragoons towards Wiggan, on the Approach of the Rebels, who he was in dread of) he then told the Servant, That he would have the Horse; who call'd out his Master's Sister to speak to the Prisoner, whom with Threats he oblig'd to deliver the Horse; but the Prisoner not thinking him so good as when he was seiz'd, said they had

spoil'd the Horse, and compell'd her to pay him £10 for him, which she did. This was observ'd by the Court and King's Council, to shew the Prisoner acted with Alacrity in the Rebellion, for the Horse had been seiz'd by Law; but he had made Use of Violence and unlawful Means to obtain him again, and made his Demands good only by the Advantage of the Power of the Rebels. The Truth of his being at Preston, and constantly there in the Company of the Rebels, was confirm'd by many other Witnesses.

His Council pleaded for him, That he was forc'd into Rebellion, and call'd Evidence to endeavour to prove it. One swore that the Earl of Derwentwater and others, came to his house on the Tuesday, and there liv'd at Discretion, and call'd for, and took whatever the house afforded. That they were got about the Prisoner, perswading him to go with them, and threatn'd him with Death, and took away his Arms; but he refus'd to go, and said, He had no Inclination, and that he heard them at high Words, but could not distinguish what was said. That afterwards the Prisoner was brought out, and put on Horseback, and went away with them, but shew'd Reluctance. He was likewise met at some Distance from his House riding among the said Company of Rebels. By another Witness, who said, He seem'd to go unwillingly, that he look'd melancholly, and he could perceive Tears in his Eyes, and his Eyes to look red, but this Witness could not but say, that he rode as at other Times; and it was pretty extraordinary, as was after observ'd by the Court, that this Witness, at the Distance of a Street breadth, should see the Tears in the Prisoner's Eyes; or indeed it might be very probable, that at parting with his Wife, and going on such a dangerous Affair, it might occasion some melancholly Reflections.

He call'd several to his character, one of which was the Parson of the Parish Mr. Dalton liv'd in, who said. That some Time before the Rebellion, he was at A Wedding with Mr. Dalton, who then read him a Letter from London, which said, That they expected a Rising in Scotland under the Earl of Mar, and that there would be other Risings in England; that he told the Prisoner, He hop'd he would not meddle in the Matter; who answer'd him, That he had neither Intention nor Inclination to do it; that he liv'd very happily, and would not endanger himself. This Evidence declar'd farther, That he has at several other Times had Discourse with the Prisoner, whom he never heard to express himself against the Government, and so far unlikely to favour the Pretender's Cause, that he had sometimes express'd some Scruples against the Romish Religion: Upon which Occasion, he was ask'd by the Court, Why he, being a Minister of the Church of England, did not endeavour to improve those Notions in him, in order to convert him; who answer'd, That he had made some Essay that Way, but then found him alter'd in his Judgment. Upon the whole, he gave him the Character of a very peaceable Roman-Catholick, as several others did, and one said, That he had heard him drink King George's Health; One in another Particular, depos'd, That when they heard of the Rebellion in Northumberland, he said to the Prisoner, Perhaps they'll come into Lancashire, and then they'll be about your House; that the Prisoner answer'd, He wou'd have nothing to do with them: This, and other witnesses said, That he was the most peaceable of all the Roman-Catholicks,

and never, at the Time of Elections, meddled in the least, as some did: One of the Members for that County justify'd this, declaring, That asking his Interest once, he told him, he would meddle of no Side.

After a very long Hearing. Mr. Dalton having nothing farther to say, the Court summ'd up the Evidence, observing first the Circumstances of Law in Cases of High-Treason: That if a Man was seen among Rebels, and continued with his Presence to abet and comfort them, tho' he were not actually in Arms, or committed Hostilities, yet it was High-Treason; That the Force mention'd, must be a continu'd Force; that a Man was not only forc'd away at first, but kept as a Prisoner under close Constraint all the Time; which appear'd by some Witnesses examin'd, not to have been the case of the Prisoner at Preston, where he was seen at full Liberty, and whence he might have escap'd often, if he had attempted it.

As to any favourable Circumstances that might have been given in for the Prisoner, as to his character or peaceable Behaviour, they were proper only in another place: That Mercy belong'd only to his Majesty, who was a just Despencer of it, it was his undoubted prerogative, and 'twas robbing him of his Right, to take the power of bestowing it out of his Royal Hands.

After the Court had impartially stated the Case, the Prisoner said, he had a Witness to examine, who would prove, that he was at Home all Wednesday, and not that Day at Lancaster, as one of the Evidence against him had sworn. He was told, That it was very unprecedented to hear Witnesses after the charge had been given; but however they condescended to it, and his Evidence, who was one Mrs. Dalton's Woman, swore him at Home all the Day on Wednesday; so that it was left to the Jury which Witness they should believe, in respect to that Point; but then neither of them affected his being afterwards at Preston, The Jury went out, and after a very considerable Stay, brought him in guilty of the Indictment, and he receiv'd Sentence accordingly.

When he was ask'd what he had to say, why Sentence should not pass, He said, He begg'd the King's Pardon, and desired the Court to intercede with him for Mercy. Upon this Occasion the Lord Chief Justice Parker observ'd, as he had done before, That the Prisoner, as well as others, had so far abus'd his Majesty's Clemency, by derogating from their former Submission, and giving the Government all the Trouble possible, even in Standing it out and Combating with the King to the very last, that they might very well expect to meet with some Severity, were not his Royal Breast always open to the Intercessions of Mercy, when it has been requested: That there was one Gentleman, who had retracted his Plea, and own'd the Indictment, and upon Recommendation, had a Pardon already passing the Seals for him: That it would have been very well for the Prisoner to have made his Request sooner, and, as his Lordship observ'd, they were not his Friends who advis'd him to do otherwise; That recommending of Prisoners to Mercy was a Part he much delighted in, and he wish'd to have had better Grounds to have done it for the Prisoner; but however, he would report his Case in the most impartial Manner to the King.

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# THE OLD HOUSE OF CORRECTION AT HUNT'S BANK, MANCHESTER.

BY WILLIAM HARRISON.

THE subject of the present paper is the House of Correction which once stood adjacent to the Chetham Library buildings, and occupied the space between the latter and Hunt's Bank.

As the term "House of Correction" is not so familiar as it once was, owing to its having been practically disused for a long period, it may not be out of place at the outset to specify the position such houses occupied in our social system.

Originally each county contained a common gaol, to which alone its criminals could be committed. But the great increase during the sixteenth century of vagrants and idle and disorderly persons, who could not properly be classed as criminals, rendered it necessary to exercise some control over a class so dangerous to society at large. The legislation of this period is therefore full of attempts, many of them abortive, to meet the growing evil. And amongst this legislation we find in particular a statute of the eighteenth year of Elizabeth (1575) directing that a House of Correction should be built in every county for the suppressing and punishing of rogues, vagabonds, and other

idle and disorderly persons. The direction appears to have been to a large extent set at nought, for years afterwards we find complaints in other statutes* that the good and necessary laws provided for the erection of Houses of Correction had not wrought so good an effect as was expected, because the houses had not been built as was intended.

In Manchester, however, circumstances of a special nature led to the provision of prison accommodation within a very few years after the passing of the first-named act. It is a well-known fact in the history of Manchester that about the year 1580 or 1581 the Lords of the Council, troubled with many recusants who refused conformity with the new order in religion, fixed upon Manchester as the place of confinement and appointed Mr. Robert Worsley, of the Boothes, to keep the prisoners in custody in a prison called the "New Fleet." The building known by this name is always stated to have been the same as that which afterwards became the House of Correction, and although I have seen nothing in any document not of modern date which serves to establish this identity, I have taken it for granted that the tradition or understanding to this effect, being uncontradicted, is not likely to be baseless. It has been considered possible that a dungeon or gaol of some kind existed on this site in much earlier times; if so, it was probably a dungeon attached to the Baron's residence and under his control, and not a public gaol properly so called. The survey of 1320 set out in Mr. Harland's *Mamecestre*† gives us a glimpse of the locality in that time, but mentions only the "house which used to be a dog-kennel of the lord's, . . . worth with the curtilage 12d.," and "beyond the wall of the stable outside the gate . . . a certain plot of

* 39 Eliz., cc. 4, 5; 7 Jas., c. 4. † Vol. ii., p. 294.

pasture sloping to the streams of Hirke and Irwell worth by the year 3d." That there was no regular prison in Manchester (other than the dungeon on Salford Bridge, which was of course merely a lock-up for drunkards and similar offenders until they could be brought before the magistrates,) we have the incidental testimony of the Act of Henry VIII.* dealing with the right of sanctuary in Manchester, the preamble of which expressly declares that there is not in the town of Manchester "any prison-house or jayle saufely to keep" offenders "in after their said offences and evilldoing." A further reference to the locality is contained in the deed dated 1422, by which Lord La Warr conveyed the college to the feoffees for collegiating the parish church. The boundaries of the lands so conveyed are there stated to be (in part) "from the Bull Oke in descending by the Hunt Hull which Edmund Parker holds as far as the middle of the aforesaid water of Irk near a certain bridge named Irk Bridge, and thence ascending by the middle of the water aforesaid of Irk," and so on. If in this description we regard the term "Hunt Hull" as intended to stand for the street or way known as Hunt's Bank, we shall be forced to conclude that the narrow strip of land upon which the New Fleet or House of Correction was erected formed part at that time of the College property. I think, however, for various reasons, which it is scarcely necessary to trouble you with, that it is more probable that the boundary is the same as that which exists at the present time, and that the strip of land remained to be utilised at a later date.

Of the exact circumstances under which the New Fleet was erected or first became used as a prison we have no account. It appears to me unlikely that the building was

* 33 Henry VIII., c. 15.

specially erected for the purpose of confining the recusants, for the difficulties which were afterwards felt in providing for their maintenance would have been prohibitive had such large initial expenses been necessary. Rather would it seem that the Government availed itself of an existing building which belonged to or was occupied by Mr. Worsley.

The direction to confine the recusants at Manchester was apparently given about the year 1581, judging from the many letters on the subject printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, mostly addressed by Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, and other Lords of the Council to the Earl of Derby and Dr. Chadderton, Bishop of Chester, as Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the North.* In one of these, under date December 7th, 1581, after indicating that at a former time they had made choice of Manchester for the bestowing of the recusants of the diocese, directions are given, in order to keep down expenses so that one guard and one preacher to instruct the prisoners should suffice, "that all the Prisoners that are and shal be comytted for their Obstinacie in Religion be placed onlie at Manchester."†

The prisoners confined here included Sir John Southworth, Mr. John Townley, James Bailey, a priest of Warrington, John Baxter, a priest, John Finch, and James Leybourne. These were all Roman Catholics, but the prison was ready for others who held quite opposite views, as appears by the language used in respect to Cartwright, an extreme Puritan, in a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Derby: "I pray your lordship that he may be sent to the New Fleet in that country and renew such usage there as he deserveth."‡

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* Replies to some of these letters are specified in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series), 1581-90, which also includes lists of the prisoners and of those prosecuted and condemned.

† Peck, Lib. iii., p. 40. ‡ Peck, iv. 20.

The treatment of these prisoners varied according to their rank, some indulgence being allowed to Sir John Southworth and Mr. Townley by the influence of their friends with the Government. A letter dated 7th February, 158$\frac{2}{3}$,* directs that the former be allowed to walk in Alport Park and the College Garden; the latter place being of course conveniently near to the prison.

The difficulties which the Government encountered in raising funds to repay Mr. Worsley for his expenses in maintaining these prisoners are set forth in the various histories of Manchester, and I need not stay to repeat them. I must however mention the offer made by Mr. Worsley to "erect a permanent Correction-House to receive and set-a-worke such rogues, vagabonds, and idle persons as might be found in the shire,"† on condition that the collection of 6d. or 8d. a week which by a recent statute‡ had been ordered to be made in every parish should be made over to him in advance. The Lords of the Council looked upon this proposal very favourably, and in a letter to the Lancashire Justices§ on the 3rd December, 1582, pointed out that every shire was bound to erect such a house upon a great penalty if the same were not within a time performed, and they added "we are of opinion that it will be a good bargain for the shire if for so small a matter as such a collection is they may be freed from that charge and penalty." It seems probable, however, in spite of the penalty, that the offer was not accepted. In 1586 we find Mr. Worsley again addressing the Council, this time asking "to be discharged of the keeping of the recusants, or else to have a lease thereof for certain years from Her Majesty." The former alternative was no doubt accepted, either at this time or not long afterwards, and the confinement of recusants discontinued. In

* Peck, iv. 13. † Peck, iv. 6. ‡ 14 Eliz., c. 5.
§ Peck, iv. 6.

the meantime some of the prisoners had been put to death, others removed to London, others whom the Government thought harmless set at liberty, and some released by death within the prison walls from any future suffering. Of the last named one or two are mentioned in Procter's *Memorials of Manchester Streets* as having their names entered in the Church Registers, thus in 1581 "Richard Smithe, an ould pryst died in the ffleet," and on the 7th February, 1584, died "Henry Jackson, prisoner in the Fleet." Whether any and what interval elapsed before the premises were established as a House of Correction, I cannot undertake to say. It is implied in the very brief references contained in the historical notices of Manchester, that there was an unbroken use for the confinement of prisoners, but this I think very doubtful. Certain entries in the Constables' Accounts for the town of Manchester for the year 1615-16* point to the conclusion that subscriptions were then being received towards the object enjoined by Parliament so many years previously. These entries are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Itm. Receaued for Hulme towards buildinge a howse of Correction and other Necessaryes therevnto belonginge - | xj$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ |
| Itm. paide vnto M$^{r}$ Oswald Mosley for ye howse of Correction - - - - | vj$^{li}$ xiiij$^{s}$ j$^{d}$ |
| Itm. paide more to ye said M$^{r}$ Mosley for Hulme - - - - - | xj$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ |

Another allusion contained in one of the Almshouses deeds, referred to below, points to the establishment of the House of Correction having occurred at a still later date.

To whatever period the establishment may be attributed, it is to be noted that, while the New Fleet had been used for the whole of Lancashire and Cheshire, the House of

* *Manchester Court Leet Records*, vol. ii., pp. 333, 335.

Correction was available for the Salford Hundred only. This was made clear on a later occasion, when the county treasurer objected to pay certain expenses connected with the prison, and was sustained in his objection by the Court of Quarter Sessions, which, after a careful investigation, declared that it did not appear that the inhabitants of the county had ever contributed towards the House of Correction, which had always been repaired and maintained at the expense of the inhabitants of the hundred.* Coming down to the year 1751, we find the building delineated and named "House of Correction," in the "Compleat map of the towns of Manchester and Salford," engraved by Mr. Benjamin Cole. In the years which had elapsed since the reign of Elizabeth, statute after statute had added to the number of offences punishable by commitment to Houses of Correction until the distinction between them and the ordinary gaols was fast disappearing. We can therefore understand that the Manchester House of Correction, used as it was for the whole of Salford Hundred, would become of greater importance than when first established. In the building which was in existence at the time the map just referred to was issued, the cells were, we are told, lighted from the street,† and the prisoners by the help of bags let down from the grated windows were almost constantly employed in soliciting the charity of passengers, pleading not only poverty and sickness, but innocence of the crimes of which they were accused. The profits of their petitionary bags were, we are further told, too often exchanged for spirituous liquors, which were very improperly permitted to be sold in the house. The engraving by Barritt, pasted in a Scrap Book in the Chetham Library, is evidently of the building which was at this time in existence, for here you find the identical

* Lancashire Justices' Order Book, 1774.
† Aston's *Manchester Guide*, 1804.

process of letting down bags in full operation. This engraving is reproduced in Procter's *Memorials* and dated in one place 1766, and in another 1776. I have concluded that of these dates the earlier is correct, as before 1776 a change had taken place which would render the drawing inaccurate. Two years earlier, *i.e.*, in 1774, we learn that the building was rebuilt and enlarged, a "Roll" or levy of £500 being made on the inhabitants of Salford Hundred for this purpose.* Of the enlarged premises we have several accounts. For one thing, we know, from the statements in Aston's *Guide*, that the begging by bags was discontinued, as none of the cells were lighted from the street. This statement enables us to carry back the picture in the Scrap Book, as I have already indicated, to the earlier building. In lieu of this method of awakening compassion, the magistrates, we are told,† directed a flag to be inserted in the wall with a drop aperture in it and this inscription, "Sick and in prison and ye visited me not."

Another account is contained in the *Description of Manchester* in 1783, by "A Native of the Town," presumed to be John Lowe, republished a few years ago by a Manchester firm, and is as follows:—

"Adjoining to this Hospital is the House of Correction which was lately repaired by order of the Justices whose names are at the front door, with that of the Governor‡ under whose direction it was rebuilt at the charge of Salford Hundred. The upper part of brick interlaid with oak spars and hence very secure. The lower consists of cells cut in the rock and aired by funnels communicating with the atmosphere. To these there is an iron gate of a singular contri-

* Order Book, 1774.

† Aston's *Manchester Guide*, 1804, p. 246.

‡ This was Mr. Thomas Whitlow, who appears to have held the office for many years.

vance to secure prisoners upon locking up from any attempts upon the governor or his assistants. On the back way to the prison next the college a dungeon has been made upon the demolition of that heretofore upon the bridge when it was widened. . . . The Constables, who are head magistrates in this Town, being then without a prison to confine offenders till they were examined, have here lower cells, very strong, with an upper prison. A guardhouse over all for soldiers adds to the security of both these prisons and the House of Correction, and does honour to the contrivers, as strength and usefulness are united and nothing expended upon ostentation."

The boast about strength and security was rather out of place, judging by the frequent rewards offered for the recapture of escaped prisoners by advertisement in the *Manchester Mercury*.

Another account of the building we owe to the philanthropic labours of John Howard, who had now set out on his self-imposed mission—

> To traverse seas, range kingdoms, and bring home,
> Not the proud monuments of Greece and Rome,
> But knowledge such as dungeons only teach,
> And only sympathy like his could reach.

At an early period in his researches into prison management Howard visited Manchester, and what he found he tells us with characteristic, business-like brevity and minuteness:* "Manchester.—Rebuilt as per date in the year 1774. Separate courts and apartments for men and women. 2 rooms for an infirmary (14ft. by 11ft. 8in.). The men have workrooms, over which are chambers. Their 4 nightrooms or cells in a passage 45ft. by 6ft. are close; 11ft. by 8; 11 steps below the court; but not properly underground being

* *State of the Prisons*, fourth edition, 1792, p. 435.

on the declivity of a hill. Women have 3 rooms on the ground floor and 3 chambers: Here is a dungeon down 9 steps 14ft. by 13; an inconvenient bath no water in it. The iron grate door into each court has a lock and fastenings of a contrivance singularly curious. No allowance. Keepers salary was raised from £25 to £60 in lieu of fees and is now raised to £80 in lieu of the tap. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners and the clauses against spirituous liquors hung up. The keeper is a chandler and employs some of the prisoners in spinning candle-wick at 3 halfpence a pound. In the front of the prison is a stone with an aperture into a box having this inscription 'Sick and in prison and ye visited me not' Matt. xxv. 43." He then gives the dates of his visits, and the number of prisoners on each occasion, thus:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1774, Nov. 5 | ... ... | Prisoners, 21 |
| 1775, „ 16 | ... ... | „ 6 |
| 1776, Sep. 15 | ... ... | „ 12 |
| 1779, May 12 | ... ... | „ 11 |
| | | Impressed, 6 |
| 1782, Nov. 22 | ... ... | Prisoners, 14 |

Howard does not appear to have found any great fault in the prison compared with those which he complained of elsewhere. But the Salford Justices, more ready, perhaps, to take the initiative themselves than those of some other counties, were not long before they deemed it necessary to enlarge the premises so lately rebuilt. On the 8th May, 1782, they resolved that some cottages and land on the Irk side of the building should be purchased "in order to enlarge it and render it more commodious," a resolution which was duly carried into effect, the cottages being conveyed to the justices, and enclosed so as to form part of the House of Correction. Some particulars of these cottages and their previous history will be found at the end of this

paper. The action of the magistrates in making this addition was taken just in advance of a parliamentary mandate, addressed to those responsible for the prisons throughout the country. That the question had reached this stage is a proof that Howard's work had been largely done. In the language of the sage of Chelsea, "Heaven had grown weary of Jail-fevers and other the like *un*just penalties inflicted upon scoundrels." Parliament, which had begun as usual with permissive legislation on the subject, had now, in 1782, got so far as to require steps to be taken by those in authority. The Act, a general one applicable to the whole kingdom, and not, as might be gathered from Baines' *History*,* one specially enacted for Manchester, stated in its preamble that in many counties the Houses of Correction were insufficient in number or deficient in building, the apartments in them very ill accommodated to the purposes for which they were intended, and that consequently and from a want of due order, employment, and discipline, the persons sent thither for correction and reformation frequently grew more dissolute and abandoned. It therefore enacted that at the ensuing quarter sessions in each county, justices were to be nominated to inspect and report on the condition of the Houses of Correction and the alterations necessary, which were to be forthwith carried out.

In compliance with this Act, Mr. Thomas Butterworth Bayley and Mr. Samuel Clowes, two of the justices for Salford Hundred, were nominated in October, 1782.† Six months later they were thanked by their fellow-magistrates "for their spirited and attentive conduct in examining and inspecting the House of Correction," and "for the very proper, useful, and satisfactory report" they had made,

* Vol. i., p. 337 (Harland's ed.). † Order Book, 1782.

which report was ordered to be printed and distributed.* I have unfortunately been unable to meet with a copy of this document, which would doubtless throw much light on the condition of affairs. In the July following, the magistrates came to the conclusion that it would be a very great convenience, as well as a considerable advantage to the works intended to be made at the House of Correction, that the adjoining Almshouses and land should be purchased for the use of the hundred, and certain persons were authorised to treat with the trustees of the charity for their purchase. In this they succeeded, and the Almshouses (of which some account will be found at the end of this paper) became shortly afterwards the property of the hundred.

Meanwhile the condition of the House of Correction continued to occupy the attention of the magistrates, who were called together specially to consider it. While one meeting recorded its opinion that the question was of such magnitude and importance to the inhabitants of the county that no measures should be taken without the fullest investigation and inquiry, and until the sense of the county had been taken, another enforced its urgency by recalling the fact that the Houses of Correction were then crowded with very great numbers of unhappy wretches, many of whom were dangerously sick of a putrid fever, of which the late gaoler at Lancaster and several prisoners had lately died. Eventually, at the Quarter Sessions held on the 25th May, 1784, the inhabitants of the hundred were presented "for not amending and rebuilding the House of Correction and for that the scite thereof was insufficient," and the justices thereupon resolved that the situation of the house was very unsafe, improper, and prejudicial to the health of the prisoners therein confined, and

* Order Book, 1783.

they directed that a close or parcel of land in Salford should be purchased in order that a new House of Correction might be built thereupon. The building of an entirely new prison upon an improved system and on a less contracted site was an object for which one of the magistrates in particular, Mr. T. Butterworth Bayley, had long striven; and it was therefore but fitting that the new erection in Salford should take the name of the New Bayley Prison. With this prison, however, we have at present nothing to do beyond noticing that its opening for the reception of prisoners in April, 1790, put an end for ever to the usefulness in that direction of the old House of Correction. No longer could the latter claim the distinction of being the repository of what Carlyle calls the "Devil's Regiments of the line." No longer were its walls to resound with the cries, the oaths, and the curses of the depraved, mingled, perhaps, as they may sometimes have been, with the wail of wrongly-immured innocence. The sin and shame and crime and ignorance which had found their culmination within its portals were henceforth to discover another bourne, and the Hunt's Bank House of Correction, as such, ceased to be.

As such, but not otherwise. The Records of Manchester tell us that in 1790 the House of Correction was pulled down. The same idea seems to have been in the mind of whoever wrote the line of description under that engraving in the Scrap Book—"Pulled down when the New Bailey was erected." I have already shown that the building there delineated was demolished or rebuilt in 1774; I have now to show that the erection which succeeded was not pulled down in 1790, but was converted to other uses. To this end I may quote an advertisement which appeared in the *Manchester Mercury* on the 1st February, 1791, and which ran as follows:—

"Capital situation for dwellinghouses, warehouses, a steam engine, dyehouses and stables, within 3 minutes' walk of the Market Place, Manchester.

"To be let for a term of years or sold upon a chief rent, All those substantial and well-built premises lately occupied as the House of Correction situate at Hunts Bank, consisting of 6 dwellinghouses, a very large and spacious Court, a parcel of vacant ground near the old Churchyard suitable for the erection of dwellinghouses, warehouses, or stables. Two other pieces of land and several old buildings adjoining to Hunts Bank Bridge very suitable for dyers or spinners.

"For particulars apply to Mr. James Radford." . . .

The buildings had therefore not been pulled down at this date. In August of the following year, 1792, they were conveyed to a purchaser by the then trustees—T. Butterworth Bayley, Robert Andrews, of Rivington, the Rev. John Griffith, of Manchester, Sir Watts Horton, and Samuel Clowes—and no change appears in the description of them. A portion of the premises was converted into a public-house called the "Castle Inn," afterwards the "College Inn," and that it was the identical building is evident from the terms used in Aston's *Manchester Guide*, published in 1804. Here (p. 246) it is stated: "In the year 1790 this building lost its terrors, and the rooms which were wont to fill their inmates with dismay and horror have for years been the scenes of jollity and pleasure. The grating of hinges, the clanging of fetters, and the groans of solitary despair have long since given way to the cheerful 'Coming, sir!' the jingling of glasses, and the loud laugh of hilarity and social mirth." If this written evidence of the continuance of the building is not sufficient, I can fortunately supplement it by the oral testimony of a gentleman (Mr. John Taylor) whose first breath was drawn on these very

premises, and who can testify that the buildings I have been describing were in existence down to just about fifty years ago.*

Later documents, which it is unnecessary for me to quote, show that no substantial structural change was made until the Hunt's Bank improvement was carried out about 1835. The last of all, dated in October of that year, contains a very carefully executed and detailed plan, which shows no material variation from Green's map of 1794. The inn had now become the "College Inn," and there were besides five cottages, some buildings used as stables, with a coachhouse, granary, and saddle rooms. All were speedily demolished except the inn, which survived a little longer. In the end it, too, had to give way before the march of modern improvement, and the Palatine Buildings and Palatine Hotel have now for many years occupied the spot on which once stood the Old House of Correction.

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## *THE ALMSHOUSES AT HUNT'S BANK.*

The following particulars of the Almshouses, purchased in order to enlarge the House of Correction, have been gleaned from an old Abstract of Title dated 1792, which I disinterred a few months ago from a parcel of documents in which it had lain undisturbed for many years. The earliest document referred to in this abstract is one of 1657, and the next 1690. The latter contains the following description of the property, omitting some redundant phraseology:—

"All those 4 Bays of the South end of the Great Barn in Manchester heretofore called the Colledge Great Barn being the end towards the Parish Church of Manchester containing

* A view of the buildings, drawn by Mr. Taylor from memory, was exhibited when the paper was read.

by estimation 20 yards in length and 10½ yards in breadth as the same is now parted from the other end of the said Barn Together with all that part of the yard or Fold lying near unto the said Barn and beginning at the Lower Gate following the wall of a certain Building called the Colledge Gatehouse towards the Church then in the Street or place called the Hunt's Bank next to the Church yard towards the Colledge Barn and from the Lower Gate following the wall of a certain Building called the Colledge Gatehouse towards the Church now in the occupation of George Pigot Esqre or of his assigns unto a certain Stoop standing northwards from the Lower Gate 12 yards Distant from the Lower Gate and from the Stoop Eastwards to the Corner of the Gatehouse on the North part thereof being 5½ yards and from the said corner of the Gatehouse following the foundation of the wall next to the Great Barn eastwards all along as far in length as the said 20 yds. being the length of the 4 Bays of the South end of the said Barn or thereabouts extendeth."

The gatehouse which is referred to is no doubt that which is mentioned in the deed of 1654, conveying the College from Lord Derby to Humphrey Chetham's executors, recently presented to the Chetham Library, and there described as "the building standing by itself with the gatehouse situate and standing towards the churchyard at the upper end of the street or place in Manchester aforesaid called the Hunts Bank so far as the building thereof standeth."

The deed of 1690 reserves a right "to the Feoffees of the Capital Messuage in Manchester called the College or College house," and to the "Owners of one other dwelling-house in Manchester standing near unto Irkes Bridge in the occupation of Edward Walker and intended to be for a House of Correction," and to the owners "of the other end of the . . . College Great Barn towards the said River of

Irkes," the right being to pass through the lower gate "unto the Great Court yard or fold of or belonging to the said College or College House."

Here we have an allusion to the dwelling-house *intended* to be for a House of Correction. It is this which is referred to above as throwing some doubt on the generally received idea that the place had been used continuously as a House of Correction from the time of Elizabeth, and the doubt obtains confirmation from the appropriate change of phraseology in the otherwise identical description of the same property contained in the next deed, which is dated 1717. Here it is a "messuage or dwelling-house . . . in the . . . occupation of George [not Edward] Walker . . . and *now* used for a House of Correction," and the inference to be drawn from the two, in the absence of anything more definite, is that the establishment of the House of Correction took place at some time between these dates, 1690 and 1717.

The portion of the college barn described in these deeds appears to have been conveyed on the 17th of April, 1657, by a number of persons whose names will be recognised as those of leading men of the time in Manchester, some of them having been boroughreeves or constables, some feoffees of the Grammar School, some feoffees appointed by Humphrey Chetham's will, and some trustees of his settlement. Their names are as follows :—

Edmund Hopwood, of Hopwood, Esq.
Lawrence Rawstorne, of Newhall, Esq.
Robert Hyde, of Denton, Esq.
Richd. Haworth, of Manchester, Esq.
Thos. Birch, of Birch, Esq.
Henry Wrigley, of Chambre Hall within Oldham, Esq.
John Lightboune, of Salford, Esq.
John Hartley, of Strangewaies, Esq.

Ralph Worsley, of Rusholme, gent.
John Lomax, of Chetham.
Richd. Meare.
Henry Dickanson.
Thos. Maynshall.
James Lightboune.
James Lancashire, of Manchester, gentleman.

The persons to whom, along with these, the property was conveyed were the following, all of Manchester, most of whom served as boroughreeve, constable, or churchwarden :—

Richd. Radcliffe, Esq.
Michael Buxton, woollen draper.
Thos. Illingworth, clothier.
William Jackson, hosier.
Samuel Harmor, ironmonger.
William Byrom, linen draper.

Of these persons the last survivor was Thos. Maynshall, who in 1690 conveyed the property to a new set of feoffees, most of whom filled at one time or other the same offices. Their names were :—

Edward Bootle, gentleman.
James Moss, „
Robert Alexander, „
John Oldfield, „
Edward Greaves, „
Edward Byrom, „
Joshua Brown, „
Joseph Hooper, „
John Lightboune, „
Joseph Byrom, „
John Green, apothecary.
Thos. Butterworth, woollen draper.
All of Manchester.

These persons along with Mr. Maynshall were to hold the property upon trust and confidence that it should be and remain "as a Workhouse for setting poor people residing within the Town of Manchester on Work or employment according to the Statute or should be otherwise imployed for the benefit of poor people residing within the Town of Manchester as should be from time to time thought fit by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor for the parish of Manchester and inhabiting within the Town of Manchester according to their wisdoms and discretions."

In the next deed, which is dated 1717, the property is described as, "All that Building now lately converted into several Dwellings or Habitacons for the poor of Manchester lately consisting of four Bays of the South end of a Great Barn," and so on, continuing the former description; and the trusts are the same as before, except that instead of being a workhouse for setting poor people on work, the premises are to be for "dwellings and habitacons for the poor." There is also a clause to the effect that if the feoffees or the major part of them should disapprove of any of the poor persons dwelling upon the premises they might remove them, and replace them by such other poor persons, being inhabitants of the town, as they should think fit and convenient.

The new feoffees appointed in 1717 were the following, all of Manchester :—

Samuel Clowes, merchant.
Thomas Bradshaw, mercer.
John Lees, merchant.
William Shrigley, mercer.
Gamaliel Lloyd, merchant.
Richard Butler, merchant.
Edward Byrom, gentleman.

James Lightboune, merchant.
Robert Bowker, currier.

At the next appointment, which was not till 1752, the following became feoffees :—

Edward Byrom the elder, gent.
John Moss.
Robert Livesey.
Robert Gartside.
Thomas Battersbee.
Joseph Bancroft.
Miles Bower the younger.
Samuel Edgsley.
Edward Byrom.
John Fielden.
John Robinson.

Finally, in 1771, the following were appointed, all of Manchester, and all merchants :—

Henry Fielden.
James Borron.
Joseph Tipping.
William Hardman.
John Gartside.
Edmund Battersbee.
John Ridings.
John Markland the younger.
Thos. Chadwick the younger.

No further appointment was made, the Almshouses being ultimately purchased by the justices for the use of Salford Hundred and as an addition to the House of Correction, as already stated.

## *THE COTTAGES BY IRK BRIDGE.*

These cottages, purchased in 1782 and added to the House of Correction, as stated above, are the subject of

another abstract of title, which enables their history to be traced back to an unusually early date. It appears that on the 5th October in the fourteenth year of King Edward the Fourth, A.D. 1475, Thomas West, Lord of Manchester, son and heir of Richard West, granted to William Ravald "one parcel of waste which one Hugh Clayton had holden lying in Manchester near the way which leadeth to Strangeways of the west part and the land of George of Manchester of the east part containing on both sides 84 feet, in breadth in the north part 30 foot and in breadth in the south part 42 foot To hold . . . for ever under the yearly rent of 4d."

I notice that in Mr. Harland's *Mamecestre* (iii. 508), in the account of the rental of the manor of Manchester in May, 1473, there appears this identical "Wm. Raveald" as tenant of "a certain parcel of land lying *beyond* Irk Bridge" at a rent of 4d.

This "parcel of waste" apparently became the site of "a burgage or tenement," so described in a document of the twenty-second year of Henry VIII., which also deals with "a parcel of land on the other side the way against the same called the Cockpit* lying within the town of Manchester at the south end of the Irks Bridge." In the fourth year of James I., when William Ravald, of Kersal, gentleman, leases to Hugh Kenyon, of Manchester, shoemaker, we find the building on the former described as a "Burgage and tenement . . . in or near to a Place called the Hunts Bank and next unto Irks Bridge." And finally, after various dealings, there is a conveyance in 1783 to four of the Salford Justices—Sir Watts Horton, of Chadderton; Thomas Butterworth Bayley, of Hope;

* This is apparently the "Cockfightplace" referred to in the Inquisition post mortem of William Ravald, of Kersal, in 1587, quoted in the *Manchester Court Leet Records*, vol. ii., p. 8.

Dorning Rasbotham, of Birch House in Farnworth; and Samuel Clowes the younger, of Broughton—in trust for the inhabitants freeholders within the hundred of Salford. In this conveyance the premises are described as three dwelling-houses at Hunt's Bank, near to Irk Bridge, and a plot of land lying near and opposite the same on the other side of the street down from the street to the river Irwell, and the whole length from Irk Bridge to the garden place lately enclosed and belonging to the House of Correction, on which plot there were poplar and willow trees growing.

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# OMAN ROADS IN DELAMERE FOREST AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY EDWARD KIRK.

I WISH to say, by way of preface, that I was led into searching for and investigating the Roman road at Delamere solely by the desire to assist Mr. W. Thompson Watkin in the preparation of his *Roman Cheshire*. It seemed to me he had rendered by his *Roman Lancashire* a solid service to every genuine antiquary, and that I could adopt no better way of showing my appreciation of its value than by lending an ungrudging hand in assisting to make his forthcoming companion work as complete as possible; and in lending that willing hand I hoped to add some trifle to the sum of archæological knowledge for the benefit of others. I had not previously paid any particular attention to the Roman roads in Cheshire. I am sensible that my subject is not incapable of attractive treatment, but its chief merit rests on its antiquarian value, and that I feel may be best enhanced by ignoring the popular and employing the baldest forms of expression. I therefore propose to limit my endeavours to stating facts and describing features in the plainest terms consistent with the matter in hand.

We find the earliest intimation of a road connecting Roman Manchester with Roman Chester in the Itineraries

of Antoninus, which are supposed to have been compiled about A.D. 140, the second of those Iters having the towns in the following order:—"Mancunio, Condate, Deva." A number of other writers coming down to our own time mention this road with more or less accuracy and minuteness. Camden, however, does not allude to it. Horsley says, "It is conjectured that Delamere Forest might then be impassable, and so the road have taken some compass." Stukeley writes, "We passed through Delamere Forest upon the Roman road in our way to Chester." He also speaks of the Roman road between Manchester and Chester passing to "Northwich, then by Sandyway, and the Chamber of Edisbury. It passes the river," he says, "at Stanford bridge, so called from the stony ford to Chester." Lysons speaks of "Watling Street in its way from Northwich proceeding by Stanford bridge to the east gate of the Roman Station." He also says, "Whilst the British way pursued its old direction through Northwich and over Delamere Forest, it is by no means improbable that the Romans may have used this road over the forest also, but no traces of its ever having been raised are visible in any part of it." Ormerod informs us that the "Northern Watling Street" enters the county at Stretford, and proceeded by Northwich to Chester, and again he writes, "The Roman road from Mancunium to Condate formed on the basis of the Great Northern Watling Street enters this county at Stretford where it crosses the Mersey." He describes its course to Holford, and proceeds:—"From this point the antient Watling Street tended onward by Northwich and Edisbury to Chester, whilst the Roman road turns off to the left shortly after entering Northwich Hundred to the intermediate Station of Condate." And further he writes—"The Watling Street enters this Hundred (Edisbury) in the township of Castle Northwich at the

confluence of the Weever and Dane at a point defended by earthworks of considerable strength and of remote but unknown antiquity. They consist of two large mounds rising over the ascent called the Hollow Way. . . . The street proceeds along the high ground for two miles in a direction nearly parallel with the course of the Weever. . . . In a few miles the street enters the Forest of Delamere, and in the point where the Roman road is supposed to have united with it passes under the Hill of Edisbury. Before arriving at this point it leaves in the flat ground on the right a tumulus called Garruslow by the country people, and two other tumuli at a greater distance and on very elevated ground, known by the names of Castle Hill Cob and the Glead Hill Cob. At this point the street is diverted considerably to the left, to avoid ascending the Hill of Edisbury, and the present line of road is still diverted in the same direction. About two miles from this place [? Castle Hill Cob] the road descends the vale of Chester by the pass of Kelsall." Dr. Robson, in his paper read before the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, after pointing out that it is marked on the Ordnance Map in some places as "Roman road," and in others as "Watling Street," observes:—"At five and a half miles from Northwich, on the west, the present road runs a little to the south, while the old one continues its straight course, and here we find evident remains of it. Two roads intersect each other at Crabtree Green, and it is from the angle on the west that Watling Street, following the right line from Northwich, goes across a field and through a plantation to the corner of the Forest enclosures. It is here planted over, and is more or less clearly marked for half a mile, running a little south of west. It is nine or ten yards across, becoming a well-marked crown, with shallow ditches on each side, and traces of mounds or cops beyond

them. Gravel is spread over the surface, and there is said by the Foresters to be a strong bed of gravel, eighteen inches deep, below. The traces, after an interval of about a mile and a half, reappear with a different character, still keeping the original course under Edisbury Hill. Here it has the appearance of two rather high embankments, between which the gravel may have been removed. In one place, for sixty or seventy yards, where the red sandstone cropped out, there were two deep ruts, with the horse track between, while the soft rock has been cut down on each side so as to clearly define the breadth of the road. It soon probably joined the present road again, but its course to Kelsall is not given on the map, and the modern road again makes a curve to the south."

Such is the curious, imperfect, and most difficult evidence of the principal writers who have attempted to deal with this road.

The Ordnance Map shows the road eastward from Chester to Stanford Bridge at the Gowy, and thence across the valley to nearly opposite Tarvin. For a considerable distance forward the map is silent, but we have a well-approved sign in "Street Farm" on the line, and during the spring of the present year, Mr. Watkin informs me, traces of the road were found between Stanford Bridge and "Street Farm."

The line of the Roman road lies between the turnpike road and "Street Farm" House. Slight traces of its course may be seen in the fields beyond the next farm, and after it has crossed the turnpike road near a small farmhouse traces in the same line appear in two consecutive fields approaching the foot of Kelsall, and in a garden just on the rise there are indications of it. A few yards further we come to the Wesleyan Chapel, where Mr. Watkin says Roman remains were found in digging out the foundations

a short time ago. Cultivation in this locality and further up the Pass of Kelsall is very old, hence there is great difficulty in discovering the traces, the gravel having been removed.

After passing the Wesleyan Chapel a short distance, there is an angle from which can be seen the great plain to the west and the route of the road all the way, with Chester at the end. (This is but a few hundred yards from the site of Kelsbro' Castle.) Here the Roman and the Old road become identical to near the smithy; and I suspect there are two slight angles here similar to what we find further on under kindred circumstances, but of these I found no direct trace. We find clear traces of it in a browy ploughed field near where the modern turnpike and the "old" road part company at the top of the Pass of Kelsall. It is found near two firs in the fence, its course being cornerwise of the field and running E.N.E. It crosses the road leading to Forest Farm, about two hundred yards N. of the turnpike road.

In the field on the east side of the former road it comes to an angle and changes its course, running thence S.E., passing by the S. side of the house occupied by Mr. D. Watson, Surveyor to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. In this line it crosses a low meadow and small stream, and enters the unenclosed forest at a place called Nettleford.

At Nettleford the traces are most remarkable, for here we find the excavation through the undisturbed forest in an astonishing state of perfection. In order to ease the gradient from the low meadow the brow of the forest side is cut down to the depth of ten feet. The excavation is partially through the red sandstone, which clearly indicates an angle, from which point the road runs E. Fuller details of this angle I defer to later on.

From the angle at Nettleford the road pursues its course E., and is thirty-six feet wide, the excavation being about four feet deep, and the sides regular and sharply defined. After passing through a few hundred yards of forest, it enters the large cultivated field belonging to Organs Dale Farm, which lies along the north side of the turnpike road for more than half a mile, commencing near the old Delamere toll-house and continuing to Delamere School. Organs Dale seems to be a corruption of "Urchins' Dale," for on the opposite side of the valley in the wood there are some projecting rocks like the bed of an old stream, which are locally known as Urchin's Kitchen. Urchin is equivalent to the devil as well as a name for the hedgehog.

At this point there is an angle, and for about one hundred and fifty yards the road runs S.E. in order partly to avoid a deep hollow on the right and a rocky projection on the left. The spot is known as King's Chair, and the rock has been cut down on the left a depth of five feet, the tool marks, as at Nettleford, being still visible on the hardest part of the rock. The roadway here is thirty-six feet wide, but the south side has been partially removed. The ascending road is here ploughed over, the soil being scanty and the gravel visible.

From the section at King's Chair the road runs nearly due E. for a few hundred yards, and, making an angle E.S.E., it passes through a clump of black firs, which have been judiciously allowed to remain. The road here is cut through a small projecting mound of red sandstone rock, and resembles very much what we find further on at the spot which the society visited in the same field.

Near the N.E. corner of the big field belonging to Organs Dale, in a cluster of black firs, we find the road exposed.*

* See photograph.

A rough, irregular mound of red sandstone rock, over two hundred feet in length, and eighty or ninety feet in width, and twelve to fifteen feet in height, has interfered with the course of the road; and this has been excavated to an extreme width of thirty-six feet. Up the centre of the rock a track has been hewn out about six feet three inches in width, and on each side of this deep cutting the rock has been sunk less deeply so as to form higher platforms eight or ten feet wide. About midway of the cutting there is a proper angle by which the road changes its course from E.S.E. to E. For some distance along the centre cutting there is a horse track with a deep rut or orbita on each side of it, the inner sides of which are nearly perpendicular, and the outer sides bevelled; the projecting interspace of rock between the horse track, or trough, and the ruts being irregular in width and height. A perfected section of this would give the width of the ruts eleven and a half inches at the top, seven inches at the bottom, and twelve inches deep. The width of the horse track would be twenty-two inches at the top, fifteen inches at the bottom, and ten inches deep, the interspaces being each thirteen inches. Taking three inches from the inside of each rut, which is nearly midway of it, and just where a wheel might be expected to work, we get a gauge of four feet six inches. It has been thought, from the directness of the ruts and their uniform sides, that they were purposely hewn out. From excavations some yards above the angle and in the other clump of trees, probability seems to point to the deep centre track having been cut plain at the bottom, with bevelled sides, and that the orbitæ and horse track are the result of wear. But the arbitrary directness and regularity of the ruts in the lower part of the rock could hardly be made by wheels liable to the usual eccentricities of axles, and they have evidently been purposely cut. This being so, it would appear to be an early

instance of the guiding principle of wheeled vehicles which has triumphed in our grand system of railway travelling. In one place in the cutting I find the top of the interspace of rock between the rut and horse track more than a foot below the side platforms. The road going eastward is on an ascending gradient of about one in seventeen.

This section is phenomenal, and is, I believe, the only piece of roadway of its kind known in this country. Having tried to describe it faithfully, I do not propose to indulge in any speculation about it beyond expressing an opinion that the deeply-cut part in the centre was used by laden vehicles, and the flat platforms on the flanks for light traffic.

All antiquaries will feel grateful for the happy thought which prevented the destruction of these relics when the enclosure took place.

Pursuing a line pointing nearly E. through an excavation the road emerges to the flat, and about midway of this excavation there are two half-circular cuttings in the land opposite to each other, the road running between and uniting them. They appear to belong to the road, as they are dug to the same depth as it is, and the action of agriculture on their sides is similar to what we find on the sides of the road. It has been suggested to me that these may have been places for keeping or changing horses.

Before leaving the large ploughed field another angle is made in the road, and the agger is here raised several feet to carry it over a slack in the land, and at this point it measures from fosse to fosse forty feet.

Here it crosses the lane which leads from Delamere School to the Old Pale, and in the corner of the next field E. the agger is very distinctly raised, and in the nook of the next field the roadway is excavated.

This brings us to the base of Edisbury Hill (locally pronounced Edsbury), near which the angles are rather

numerous, and the sections short, details of which seem to be unnecessary. The object of these angles has obviously been to approach the foot of the hill.

The Roman road forward from Edisbury is the basis of the modern road, and a little E. of the farmhouse the excavation through the upper stratum of the rock is visible for a distance of fifty or sixty yards in a direct line. This section points directly into the corner of the stone quarry on the left-hand side. The road here descends the hill in a direct line, its course being almost due south. Its constructors have been at great pains to secure a regular descent, the gradient being even, and computed to be about one in fifteen to twenty. Where necessary to procure regularity of decline and uniformity of width, the high portions of the natural conformation of the land have been cut away, and the low parts raised; an elevation of several feet being still preserved under the fence on the left hand in a direct line for some distance.

The next angle is a little above the modern road which leads from Delamere Railway Station to the Abbey Arms. Near this point the Roman road was cut through in laying the Liverpool new water main pipes, and the evidence of Mr. Deacon, the engineer, shows that the gravel, which was of considerable depth, was mixed with broken stones.

Here the Roman road enters a ploughed field called Broomycrofts on the east side of the lane, and the agger, in order to continue the regular descent of the hill, is on an immense embankment about ten feet high, at its highest part, and measuring from fosse to fosse sixty-seven feet: the roadway being thirty-one feet across the top. The gravel is plainly visible all along the embankment, which is two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards long. This embankment and the fossæ have been much reduced by the friction of agricultural implements.

At the bottom of this field the road makes an angle to the left for about two hundred and fifty yards, leaving Thieves' Moss on the right, Relics Moss, Longridge, and Leachmere on the left; and passing Pedlar's Oak Gap at the end of Longridge. This spot took its name, according to tradition, from the fact of a weary pedlar having gone to sleep here, and his head having got entangled in the sling of his pack or wallet he was found accidentally strangled.

From the next angle near the S.E. end of Leachmere the road is readily tracked after the plough across Plovers' Moss, and nearly opposite Snidleymere it is partly cut through by an excavation for a tram line, which was constructed for the conveyance of marl to Broomycrofts when that part of the forest was first cultivated in 1862. The remains of this tram track still exist in an embankment and cutting a few paces from the Roman road.

Over a natural depression of the land, at the S.E. corner of Plovers' Moss, the occupation road, running north from Oakmere farm, is carried on an embankment several feet high, and above the Roman road, the latter being visible on either side of the modern road.

Continuing the course E.S.E. the road is traceable across the two next fields, leading to an oak tree in the first quick-thorn fence on that side of the enclosed forest. In the next field there is a slight angle, *this* road inclining a trifle to the right. In the Crabtree Green lane it is traceable in a slight ridge crossing it at nearly right angles, and at some thirty yards distance from the Chester and Northwich turnpike road.

It runs forward across the next field nearly parallel with the turnpike road, and after crossing the fence on the east side of that field, in a portion of the old forest, which luckily has not been cultivated, some most remarkable traces exist. A deep and narrow valley is here drained by

a small runnel, and the place is known as Lobslack. Lob, it may be stated, is equivalent to the devil, hence it is the devil's slack or hollow, which name it doubtless takes from the extraordinary artificial incisions in the breasts of the bank on each side of the valley. Lobscouse = the devil's broth. Roman roads were frequently attributed to the devil, and we often get such instances as "the devil's pavement," and "the devil's causeway," in local nomenclature. I assume this Lobslack is the "Sanddiford" of Leland.*

The remarkable traces to which I have alluded consist of two fossæ in the line of the road which I have been tracing, and at the west end of the forest remnant they are sixty-four feet apart, measured from the bottom of each fosse, and at sixty paces, eastward, they measure eighty feet. At the deepest point of the breast of the bank the left hand fosse is sunk sixteen feet below the normal level of the soil on each hand. These fossæ are flanked by other fossæ and earthworks, which, without the aid of illustration, an attempt at a written description would hardly be successful enough to warrant the trouble.

The Roman road runs diagonally through the turnpike road against the bridge which carries the latter over the Winsford Branch Railway (Cheshire Lines), and at this point starts to the left, running obliquely to the turnpike on the left, its course lying about N.E. through the wood near Oakmere Hall. Here are two deep fossæ parallel to each other, and measuring forty-two feet apart. They are about one hundred yards in length. We are largely indebted to the dry nature of the soil for the good preservation of these remains.

* "Entering a ii Miles within the Forest having redde Deere & fallow I passed over a litle Brooke caulid Sanddiford. Betwixt Sanddyford & Northewich I saw divers Pooles in the Forest."—Leland, v. p. 76.

After running for about two hundred yards from the high road there is an angle near the crest of the brow, and the former course is resumed, the road passing through an ornamental sheet of water in front of Oakmere Hall, and continuing through the private grounds between that mansion and the turnpike road to the highway leading from Cuddington, which it crosses immediately behind the old Oakmere toll-house, where the gravel may be seen. A few yards further east it becomes the foundation of the turnpike road, which, for about three-quarters of a mile, is a fine piece of roadway between straight parallel fences.

This brings us to near the "Blue Cap," at Sandiway Head; "Sandiway" being probably a corroboration of the Roman road. Near the gate which leads into the field opposite the hotel (S.) we find traces of gravel in the field, at the point near where the turnpike and the Roman roads part company, the former turning to the left into a hollow, and the latter continuing its direct course to the crest of the hill near to a conspicuous dead tree, which stands by the side of a narrow plantation at the west side of Lord Delamere's New Park. From a dry fosse east of the New Park Lodge it would appear that there was an angle to the left, near the dead tree before named, and the Roman and the turnpike road from New Park to Castle Northwich become generally identical, or side by side.

The Roman road may be traced at Sandiway Bank, and a little east of there it may be traced, on the north side of the turnpike, to where it crosses it diagonally before reaching Hartford (London and North-Western) Station. Through that village the two become more visibly united, and a couple of hundred yards east of Hartford Church the joint road is carried over a low piece of land on an embankment a few feet in height. A little east of the Cheshire Lines Station, opposite the Heysoms, the Roman road is shown

on the north side of the modern road in a sharply-defined excavation several feet in depth, and at the present time it is being obliterated by tipping rubbish into it. The deviations of the modern from the Roman road may be traced with more or less accuracy by the painstaking observer all the way from Sandiway Head to Castle Northwich.

Having traced the course of the Roman road to the ford over the Weaver at Castle Northwich, the site of which is known, I propose to pursue it no further in that direction. I may, however, state that the road is easily found in the cultivated land by the gravel which is exposed by the plough.

From an old cutting in a jutting piece of rock covered with firs, and situate in a field about half a mile S.W. of Edisbury Castle, there seems to have been a small road approaching the castle from that direction. It is a straight line alongside a footpath. There is no agricultural excuse for it, and I understand it was there before the enclosure of the forest took place.

Before the enclosure of the forest the sides of the road were as sharply defined as they are now at Nettleford, and they formed a ready habitation for the rabbits which abounded here; but these clever and persistent burrowers fought shy of the roadway itself, the compact mass of gravel and broken stone had been too intensely solidified by the wheels of vehicles and the tramp of Roman infantry and cavalry to yield to paws armed with nothing keener than hair and horn. The constant friction of the keener implements of agriculture hauled by teams of powerful horses, has done much during the last quarter of a century to deface the outlines; and as this goes on year by year the traces, though not obliterated, become gradually fainter to the eye. In many places the sides of the road are traceable by the poverty of the herbage, the arable soil having been

reduced into the lower places by the friction of agriculture leaving the barren earth quite exposed. The gravel is described by Mr. Watson as being about eighteen inches deep, very solid, broken stones being mixed with the gravel.

Great skill has been displayed in the selection of the route so as to ensure easy gradients and avoid the treacherous mosses and meres. By the short sections between the angles at Pedlar's Oak Gap, and again at Lobslack, serious engineering difficulties were avoided; and by passing the foot of Edisbury the Romans secured an out-look post which was simply indispensable to an army of invaders in a district swarming with hostile natives. The descent of that hill, and the one of Kelsall, are equally well chosen for heavy vehicles. The cue for the Roman road has most probably been taken from the British Holloway, which is still traceable at several points by the side of the Roman road. I hope at a future time to treat of the Holloway.

In the large field at Organs Dale, on the line of the road, many old horse shoes have been found; and at Edisbury Hill, which I assume was a British station prior to its use by the Romans, Mr. Watkin tells me a number of Roman coins were found a hundred and fifty years ago, particulars of which he has obtained from old MSS. I have spelt Edisbury with one "d" according to the old custom, there being apparently no legitimate excuse or authority for the change, and certainly no advantage in it.

Returning to Nettleford, already referred to, we have extraordinary traces, for we get, with remarkable clearness, the junction of two Roman roads, one of which I believe has never been described before. This junction is about ninety paces N. from the turnpike road at the western verge of what here remains of the intact forest. The union of the two roads may be roughly described by a

capital italic letter *Y*, the arm on the left being the road which I have just described, and from the way in which it falls into the other I suppose it to have been made the latter of the two.

The ground here is considerably higher than the low meadow already mentioned, and to obtain a more even gradient the roads are cut through the breast of the hill; the excavation at the point of junction being ten feet deep, tapering upward for two hundred or three hundred yards, most of which distance the road is sunken three to six feet. The foundation is rock, which fully preserves the exact angle on the left hand side of the fork. Against the hedgerow which divides the cultivated ground from the forest the road is forty feet wide; the left hand road at some distance E. of the junction is thirty-six feet broad. The right hand road, which is thirty feet broad, points direct to Kinderton—the Condate of the Itineraries—and it will be found to measure more accurately than any other road the XX miles of Iter. II. of Antoninus. Taken across the one-inch ordnance map from the Eastgate of Chester it measures eighteen and a quarter inches to Harbours Field at Kinderton, the site of Condate; and with the few angles we get pretty accurately the XX m.p. of Iter. II., which I assume this road to be. (For an illustration of this portion of the road, *vide* Mr. Watkin's *Roman Cheshire.*)

Its track through the forest from Nettleford to opposite the old toll-house at Delamere Bar is perfectly clear. Here it enters the corner of the great field of Organs Dale already alluded to; and when I saw the ploughmen turning over the soil here, they described the headland as "a very gravelly bit"—it is the gravel of the Roman road.

The Chester and Northwich turnpike road, from the angle near the old toll-house to that near Organs Dale House, a distance of about three hundred yards, is on the

site of the Roman way, which continues direct and is the basis of the present road to Over. At a distance of about a quarter of a mile E. from the fork of the turnpike and the Over road, on a slight elevation, the rock appears to have been cut down, and at this point it makes a slight angle to the left.

The present and the Roman road are identical apparently for miles, there being no curves, and the sections between the angles point S.E. or E.S.E. The road leaves what was Fishpool on the right and Oakmere about one hundred and fifty yards on the left hand. On my remarking to a native of the district that the road was straight, he pertinently answered, "Yes, but it isn't like some of those new ones that are so straight, for this was here long before the forest was enclosed, and none of the old people can tell when it was made." I pressed him on that point, and he held firmly to the traditional age without my hinting to its remote origin.

A little east of Booth's Smithy the antiquity of the road is patent, for the sides are regularly cut through the land as at Nettleford.

About a quarter of a mile east of Booth's Smithy the highway, which bears the name of Chester Lane, is apparently old but not Roman; its course is somewhat sinuous, and the fences, though old, are irregular. In the last half mile of the road about Booth's Smithy, very recent refencing has destroyed the old sides of the road.

At a small stream between Booth's Smithy and Corn Hill I lost the traces, but it seems probable that the course pointed to Salterswall, a name which is suggestive of Roman occupation. The ground lies high, and runs in a ridge of considerable elevation through Over, the highroad being directly on the top of it. From here may be seen the country round for a long distance. Kinderton is visible

on one hand, and Edisbury on the other. I am of opinion that this road is based on the Roman road; also the road known as High Street, leading down to the Weaver. This road is flanked for some distance on the right by a natural clough, and there is a hollow on the left from near the Over Board School, both of which form a natural protection to the road.

The road on each side of the Weaver is in a direct line, an unusual feature in a road made only say three centuries ago. Moreover, I take the word *ford* compounded in Winsford as corroborative evidence of this being a Roman road. Take the county of Chester at random, and its boundaries, and see how the fact supports this theory. Beginning at Manchester and going westward, we find Longford, Stretford, Crossford, Holford, Nettleford, and Stanford in a line on the Roman road. Then we have Orford, Latchford, Frodsham (which I suppose to be Fordsham), and Trafford. Again, we have Stopford (Stockport), Woodford, Handforth, Chelford, and Saltersford. We have Bradford, Aldford, and very many other instances all bearing the same evidences of undoubted Roman fords. I am not contending for this word being a sign positive of a Roman road, but that its use is not a mere accident in connection with Roman roads might be further shown if time admitted.

On the east side of the Weaver the traces are not so definite as could be desired, but we must remember that we are in a district which is composed chiefly of clay, where gravel is scarce, and all Roman road investigators know the difficulty which a clayey country and old agriculture present. A road man on the other side of the Weaver assured me that it was most difficult to find gravel anywhere about, and all the shallow beds which had been found in the fields had been carefully sought and dug out far and near.

It seems pretty conclusive that there was an angle on a high piece of land beyond Wharton School, near to the railway; and that from there the track was almost direct to the station at Kinderton. There is a footpath which runs across the fields in a direct line to a little north of Stanthorne Hall; *stan* being, I opine, the same here as in Stanford. In one part of this track I found a small quantity of gravel on the clay in a fence. In another part there is a broad sunken piece in the ground on the track. Moreover, the track lies on a low natural ridge between two broad flat spaces of land with oziers growing on them. This line brings us to the present road at Spittle Hill, where traces of a road on the south side are visible, sloping to the Whelock. Archdeacon Wood says there has been a road which crosses the Whelock below Stanthorne Hall, and this I take to be the site to which he refers.

Archdeacon Wood also states that a Roman road crossed "the Weaver at Bradford near the new bridge, in taking the foundations of which Roman antiquities were found." Bradford is one and a half to two miles down stream from Winsford. Archdeacon Wood further states—"I have traced this road from Kinderton a short way" (probably alluding to Spittle Hill), and adds, "if a line of it was extended it would pass down Bradford Mill Lane by the south of Whitegate Church." There can be no doubt whatever that Bradford Mill Lane is Roman, and it retains its original features with remarkable distinctness. It runs for fully a mile in a direct line, and is about twenty-five feet wide from fosse to fosse. It is carried over the low places in the land on an embankment, which in one place is about five feet high; and in one part the high ground is cut through to the depth of six feet, and in another there is a cutting of about eight feet deep. This is a bye-lane at

present; and the amount of its traffic may be estimated from the fact that it is cindered. It is one of the best bits of a minor road that I know of.

I suspect it is to these indications given by Archdeacon Wood that Ormerod refers in the passage—"Relics of these people (the Romans) have been found in the ford of the Weaver, between Condate and Deva."

The great importance of the road which I have described from Nettleford to Kinderton is that it clears one of the difficulties attending Iter II., viz.:—On going from Mancunium by Condate to Deva it supplies a direct road, instead of the passenger having to go twice over the five miles between Northwich and Kinderton, which is a most unreasonable, not to say absurd, thing to expect of a great engineering people like the Romans, and this Iter is perfected within the space stated by Antoninus, which no other route hitherto suggested accomplishes.

With regard to the minor road north-west of Bradford, it does not supply all that is demanded of it as Iter II. either as to capacity, direction, or distance. I hope at some future time to return to it, and for the present will content myself by stating that I suspect it had two arms at Whitegate, one of which made for Salterswall, and that there was a connection between the top of the slope near the Congregational Chapel at Over and Minshull. Between Whitegate and Sandiway Bank, at Earnslow, there is what appears to have been a *mons exploratorius*.

I have now to introduce to your notice another hitherto unrecorded Roman road. In the second field west of Crabtree Green Lane there is a junction of two Roman roads, and looking to the rising sun the right-hand road is that which I described at first as running from Nettleford junction to Northwich, and running hence E.S.E. The left-hand or new road runs E.

At the point where these two roads cross Crabtree Green Lane they are some eighty paces apart, the left-hand road here being the more strongly marked of the two. At the foot of the cop on each side of the modern road the gravel of the Roman road is seen unmistakably. The course of the road across the two fields W. and E. of this lane was pointed out to Mr. Watkin and myself by two labourers who have turned the gravel up by the plough.

In the fence which separates the first and second fields E. of Crabtree Green Lane the Roman road is distinctly traceable, and its course is quite plain going diagonally of the big browy field which dips to the Winsford branch railway. In one part of this field the road is carried over a narrow hollow in the land by a short embankment fifty to sixty feet across. A little further on it is cut through a ridge of land; and its course through the fence at the N.E. corner of the field is clear, as is also the embankment which carries it across the low valley by the railway.

The two fossæ in the wood—the remains of the old forest—E. of the railway are very distinct, one of them being for some distance through the breast of the bank the depth of a full-sized man. The road, less distinct, continues by the verge of a steep bank on the left, and near this spot makes a slight angle to the left now pointing E.N.E. The line of the road becomes less distinct through the deep hollow beyond the wood. While ascending the eastern slope of the hollow it singularly enough passes through another Lobslack. Both this Lobslack and the one previously mentioned will be found on the Ordnance, Map, and are only some six hundred yards apart. I have no doubt that this Lobslack has the same meaning that the other has.

In the fence at the top of the slope there is a depression and some traces of gravel, but over the fence I discovered

nothing. However, in the next two fields, continuing in a direct line with the former traces, we find a long artificial hollow, and where a fence crosses it at the crest of the hill the road is plain some thirty yards or so west of the Tarporley road. Its course downward toward the stream is also plain. Mr. James Gaskin, an old resident at the Hollow, informs me that he remembers the gravel being carted away, and described it as a long, shallow bed of gravel.

We are now upon a much older cultivation, but a low line in the land may be traced crossing the lane about one hundred and forty yards from the railway bridge near the hotel at Cuddington Station. About one hundred and eighty yards from the hotel by the lane leading to the Hollow there are the remains of an artificial earth mound, probably a tumulus.

The direct line of the Roman road lies close past a curious square enclosure, portions of two sides of which project into a meadow, the others being destroyed. Here are some large trees planted on "made" earth which differs from the adjacent soil. A portion of old waste close by is known as Flamous (perhaps from Flame house) pits. From this spot the Hill at Edisbury is clearly visible, so are Northwich, the Frodsham range, Weaverham, and the Weaver valley.

Two fields farther on in a line we find a long depression through the breast of some declining ground, and in the meadow which slopes down to a by-lane there is a continuous depression in the land which does not resemble natural formation, but the reverse. In a line still, and at the farther side of the second field—a ploughed one—there are traces of gravel on a clayey ground near to a cottage.

Half a mile further on in a direct line we come to Gorsey Brook at Handford, near the Grand Junction Railway, and

beyond the railway, alongside a footpath, there is a long depression some eight or ten yards broad in a field. This path takes the line which I describe to an elevated field called the Churns, and from this spot a capital view of the Weaver valley is commanded; Edisbury Hill, the clump of trees at Flamous Pits, also the Frodsham range are visible. The line which I have attempted to describe points slightly to the west of Weaverham Church tower.

In searching forward for traces I found nothing in the Weaver valley except a fine tumulus which two ploughmen who were at work in an adjoining field told me was until recent years capped by a clump of trees.

I confess to a difficulty in dealing with the latter part of what I have described. We have beyond doubt a Roman road for a considerable distance east of Crabtree Green Lane. I have failed to find any evidence to lead me to suppose that the road deviated to the right or the left. We have no ground for supposing that the road terminated at Cuddington, but we have the fact that the line lies over an old cultivation. I have not had time to conclude my investigations, which, I am not without hope, will result in the track of this road being found to cross the Weaver at Saltersford, and to form a union with the road which is known to run from Wilderspool to Northwich.

I have recently gone over the district lying between a little north of Holford Street and the vicinity of Saltersford, having gone over a portion of it before, and seen what seemed to be traces of a Roman road; and, briefly, if you take my opinion for what it is worth, a Roman road ran east from Saltersford by Marbury, north of Budworth mere and Pick mere, to the main road leading to Manchester, joining the latter road probably near where that from Knutsford falls into it. It was of minor size and importance.

I ought to explain that the directions in which the roads lie are taken from a pocket compass. Mr. W. Thompson Watkin has visited all the chief points of interest in company with me, and agrees generally with my conclusions. I have to acknowledge his very kind assistance and co-operation. My obligations are especially due to Mr. D. Watson, the courteous surveyor to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, who, having held his position thirty-six years, and having been in charge of the enclosure of the forest during that time, is familiar with the track of the Roman road and its features. Much of his valuable testimony is embodied in this paper. I desire to thank Mr. D. Meldrum, manager of the Cheshire Lines Railway, Mr. T. R. Cobley, and Mr. Abel Heywood, jun., for assistance kindly rendered.

# FORMER MASTERS OF THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL.*

BY JOHN EGLINGTON BAILEY, F.S.A.

DR. JOHNSON, in his *Life of Addison*, advanced an incentive to preserve the memory of able schoolmasters when he said that not to name the school, or the masters, of men illustrious for literature, was a kind of historic fraud by which honest fame was injuriously diminished. The influence of this sentiment has led to the publication of the Registers of the Manchester Grammar School, beginning with the eighteenth century; but it is to be regretted that the earlier history has not been given with the same detail, Whatton's *History* being very defective. Under the circumstances it will be interesting to pass under review the masters for about a century, from Cogan to Wickyns.

Thomas Cogan, the schoolmaster in Queen Elizabeth's days, was a man who combined in himself two or three of the learned professions. He was of Oriel College, Oxford, and after studying arts and physic, being both Master of Arts and Bachelor of Medicine, he was promoted to Manchester School about 1575, resigning at that date his

* This is an abstract of Mr. Bailey's paper.

fellowship in Oriel College. He was, as his writings show, a pedagogue of excellent temper, and interested himself in the welfare of the boys, instructing them with few lashes. None of his scholars preserved any record of his mastership. He is best known as the author of an excellent medical manual, called *The Haven of Health*, first published in 1584, and four times since. The numerous references in the book to this neighbourhood led Richard Hollinworth to say that it was calculated for the meridian of Lancashire, especially of Manchester. It was chiefly compiled for "the comfort of students," whose health, he said, he tendered most of all. From it may be ascertained much about the dietary customs of the time, and also how students fared at their meals, when breakfast and tea were not recognised. During his rule, Dr. Dee, the famous wizard, was warden of Manchester College and the official visitor of the school, it being one of his duties to select boys for exhibitions to Oxford. Dee had once entertained at the college the celebrated Camden, who, in his *Britannia*, called him *nobilis mathematicus;* for it was Dee who was the first to give Euclid to his countrymen in an English dress. (Mr. Bailey exhibited a copy of this edition, folio, 1570.) Cogan, who was a man of good sense, had little sympathy with the occupations of that great scholar, in which alchemy and spirit-rapping prevailed; for in the warden's diary relating to his life in Manchester Cogan is never once named, although Dee's son Rowland, born in 1583, was one of Cogan's scholars. There was a remarkable passage in the preface to the *Euclid*, in which Dee, in nervous and vigorous language, full of deep feeling defended himself against the common opinion which was held of him. "Ought any honest Student and Modest Christian Philosopher to be counted and called a Conjuror? Shall the folly of Idiotes and the Mallice of the Scornfull so much prevail that he, who seeketh no worldly gain or glory

at their hands, but only of God, the threasor of heavenly wisdom and knowledge of pure verity, shall he, I say, in the mean space be robbed and spoiled of his honest name and fame? He that seeketh by St. Paul's advertisement in the Creature's Properties and wonderful virtues to find just cause to glorify the Æternal and Almighty Creator by,—shall that man be in hugger mugger condemned as a Companion of the Hellhounds and a Caller and Conjuror of wicked and damned spirits?" On 9th Dec., 1597, Dee mentions the school for the first time; he says "I visited the Grammar School to see the order, &c., for Mr. Heton," one of his curates. He paid, however, an official visit on 5th August, 1600, which was a Tuesday: "I visited the Grammar School and found great imperfection in all and every of the scholars to my great grief." On 3rd December of the same year according to the Diary, the feoffees gave Rowland Dee a scholarship described as "four nobles exhibition at Oxford [out] of the school rents." It is singular that the very next entry in the diary relates also to the Grammar School and to Dee's pecuniary difficulties. "Dec. 20. Borrowed of Mr. Edmund Chetham the scholemaster £10 for one yere uppon plate, 2 bowles, 2 cupps with handles, all silver, waying all 32 oz. Item 2 potts with cover and handells, double gilt within and without, waying 16 oz." These articles were still unredeemed three years later, when the debt looked desperate. Dee's mention of Edmund Chetham seems to show that Cogan had already resigned. There is a reference to the circumstance in one of Cogan's works. For the use of the schoolboys he compiled an excellent selection from the letters of Cicero, having as high an opinion of those epistles as had Erasmus, who exhorted young men to spend their hours in reading them and getting them by heart. The book was dated from Manchester on the kalends of September, 1602, and the dedica-

tion contains the phrase "Gymnasio Mancuniensi publico derelicto." This admirable little volume, edited by an able Latinist, was, we may be sure, a more popular book in the school than Dee's Euclid. Cogan's time would seem to have been given up to the medical art, for à Wood records that he practised in Manchester with good success; and Hollinworth, who had conversed with many that knew him, calls him a professor of physic. Moreover, he had married into a wealthy Manchester family, and lived, at the time of his decease, not in the headmaster's house, but in a larger mansion in the Milngate. The school had in these days been no doubt committed to deputies, and their inefficiency, it may be, aroused the grief of Dee, who had a very deep sympathy with learning. Cogan died in June, 1607, and he was buried in the church. By his will he left gifts of books to the warden, the fellows, and other members of the college, as well as to the apothecaries of the town; and he also bequeathed 4d. each to every scholar of the Free School of Manchester. He left the character in the town of a good neighbour and an honest man.

Edmund Chetham, M.A., Cogan's successor, was the brother of Humphrey the benefactor, but he did not long hold the office, for he died in 1603. Of the next two masters, Edward Clayton, M.A., buried in 1628, and John Rowland, M.A., little is known, nor are many of their scholars' names to be recovered. Rowland was discharged in 1630, and was succeeded by Thomas Harrison. He likewise is a mere name, but he is worthy of remembrance in that under him Dr. John Worthington was bred. This distinguished scholar, renowned for his amiable character and theological acquirements, was born in 1618; and in a memorable letter which he wrote, when begging for the wardenship of the college, he said that that which recommended the place to him was that Manchester was his

native town, "where I was born and brought up. My father was a grave, peaceable, honest man, one of chief note and esteem in the town, a diligent caller of me up to the early prayers in the church before I went to school." From the school he went to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1632, of which house he became fellow. During the Protectorate he was master of Jesus College, and held the office of Vice-chancellor to the university whose literary renown he advanced. He befriended at the university many Manchester youths. He next became curate, under Dr. Brideoake and the other canons of Windsor, of St. Bennet Fink, London, a cure which he served most faithfully during the Plague year. He died rector of Hackney in 1671. The books which he edited were executed with the most precise and conscientious care, and he had many of the qualities possessed by scholarly typographers. This was the man to whose memory the late Mr. Crossley devoted the best of his literary energies. Worthington was the associate of the gifted Platonic school of divines, remarkable for their almost seraphic lives, and whose eloquent and spiritual writings were of a wholesome character. The new volume of Worthington's correspondence, now being printed by the Chetham Society, will illustrate further his connection with this body of men.

Ralph Brideoake, the next master, who flourished alike under the Monarchy, the Commonwealth, and again under the Monarchy, was successively a scholar, a master, and a feoffee of the school. The family resided on Lord Derby's land in Cheetham and Cheetwood. His parentage was lowly. His education at the Grammar School was probably under Edward Clayton; he then entered Brasenose College. In 1636, known as a Greek scholar and poet, he obtained his master's degree by the influence of royal letters. He was acquainted with Ben Jonson and Thomas Randolph;

he contributed verses to their collected works, and wrote in the university collections of verses. This was his only claim to the line on his monument, "Ingens Atticæ omnis Eloquentiæ Thesaurus." His best title to remembrance was his devotion to the Earl of Derby, whose estates he managed, and whose gallant lady held the College buildings, adjoining the Grammar School, as a dower house. He was also associated as a sort of steward with Humphrey Chetham. His monument omits all reference to his life between the death of Lord Derby and the Restoration; for in this interval he was Rector at Witney, with Speaker Lenthall as his chief parishioner and friend, and was giving himself up to the acquirement of wealth and the founding of a family. He pushed himself into notice at the Restoration, and died Bishop of Chichester. He coveted the Manchester Wardenship, and at one time of his life had been so closely associated with Manchester that his name became connected with a well-known house at Cheetham Hill, miscalled in Ogilby's road map, published in 1675, "Dr. Pridcock's house." When the school was taken from him about 1644, when he was engaged at the siege of Lathom House, it went under the care of Nehemiah Painter, who is found there in 1647, when he completed the education of Richard Bowker. Painter was buried 5th November, 1648, being styled headmaster. In the time of the Rebellion the income of the school suffered. John Hartley had the lease of the mills at £130 per an. Joseph Werden, who had got possession of the College buildings, set up a brew-house therein, and sold ale and beer, whereupon Hartley got an injunction against him. Werden claimed that the College was a privileged house, and owed no suit and service to the School Mills, but the decision was that his corn must be ground there, and his bill of costs was £43. 6s. 8d.

We next come to a master who is the most noticeable on

the list, John Wickyns, who gave a great repute to the school. His father was sent out of Berkshire by his countryman, Archbishop Laud, to occupy the mastership of Rochdale Grammar School. The son is always said to have been of Corpus Christi College, the information being taken from Whatton's history of the school, where one line alone is devoted to this master which is scandalously inaccurate. He is there called Wickes, but the degrees added to his name are those of a real person called Wickes, who, about a year and a half after Wickyns's death, was, 13th July, 1677, nearly murdered by John Bradshaw and another scholar while sleeping in his bed at Corpus Christi College. Henry Brooke gave his name as John Wiggins. He was probably of King's College, Cambridge. Whatton gives 1652 as the date of his appointment to the school; but the date was much earlier than this, for Edward Kenyon, one of his distinguished pupils, who became rector of Prestwick, was at nineteen years of age, in 1649, entered a pensioner into St. John's College, Cambridge, and is distinctly said to have been bred under Wickyns. Jonathan and Jabez Brideoake were also his scholars. They were admitted into St. John's in 1651 and 1653. Wickyns first appears in the parish registers in 1652, when a child was baptized, described as Alice, daughter of John Wickyns, "head schoolmaster." Numerous other entries present a pretty complete account of his family. Wickyns was an able Didaskalos, and a long list of his pupils might be collected. The Rev. Henry Newcome, who first made his acquaintance in 1656, placed his sons under him. Henry, who became rector of Tattenhall, Cheshire, and of Middleton, Lancashire, and was a frequent visitor to the Chetham Library, entered the school on 10th January, 1662. Numerous other pupils are mentioned in Newcome's diary, who in one passage says that Wickyns bred many able scholars.

The intercourse between Newcome and Wickyns was very intimate. Wickyns taught Newcome the elements of Hebrew. The master's skill in the languages was of service in the examination of the young men who flocked to Manchester to receive ordination at the hands of the Presbyterians, although there were many scholars in the town as able as he. Once, when regarding one of the assemblies of ministers of Manchester, Newcome made the striking remark—"Manchester was a university then, when many Masters of Arts, Fellows of Colleges, could be found to keep a night for such a purpose." It was not until seven years after the establishment of Presbyterianism in Manchester that Wickyns became a ruling member of that body, representing the Manchester church; and as such he was one who ordained Francis Mosley at Manchester, 10th January, 1654-5. He attended closely to his duties in connection with this body, and was frequently delegated to attend the provincial meetings at Preston. Wickyns was one of the first to invite Henry Newcome to Manchester; and on 17th August, 1662, he signed the petition to Charles II. in favour of Newcome's claim to a place in the collegiate establishment.

Not very long afterwards (July, 1663), there was a probability of Wickyns quitting his charge at Manchester to accept an invitation to Newport School, in Salop; and Newcome describing the severance of the connection as "so great a loss to the town and to my boy, who comes on so notably under him," promoted meetings of the burghers, the feoffees, and the justices, with the view of inducing Mr. Wickyns to stay. The feoffees of Chetham's College, to the boys in which Wickens had some relation, were also interested in the matter. A town's meeting held at the Booths, on 15th August, attended by warden Heyricke and other prominent gentlemen, lasted from four o'clock till seven;

and a satisfactory settlement was made, in which Mr. Birch, one of the ushers, and Mr. Dutton, the schoolmaster at the hospital, were parties. It was one of Newcome's duties in this business to write a letter concerning Mr. Wickyns to the Haberdashers' Company of London, who were the governors of Newport School.

In 1664, the year of the Conventicle Act, Adam Martindale, of Rostherne, at the instance of Sir Peter Brooke, of Mere, placed his son Timothy at Manchester School, under Mr. Wickens, "a most excellent teacher." Adam speaks of having to buy his son many costly books, and "apparill suitable to ordinary men's sons in that proud towne." On the passing of the Oxford Act, at the end of 1665, he came to teach mathematics in Manchester. In this course of life he says he was encouraged by Mr. Wickens, master of the free school, who sent him "a good number of his most ingenious boys and admired their great proficiencie." He continues, "one that was a teacher in the town and some others that thought themselves fit for such work, that knew nothing of decimals, logarithmes, or the new species way, contemned and assaulted me, sending me questions, which I quickly returned answered, and propounded another to everyone that had sent any to me, and then I had done with them. But I had much adoe to keep in my scholars from revenging my quarrels too farre, for when they by skill in logarithmes, could in an houre answer such a question as these professours could not solve in a month, it was next impossible to keep my pragmaticall youths from running downe these old soakers with their Record's *Arithmetic*. As for old Richard Martinscroft, who had more true skill in him than they all, though he was a papist, he never opposed nor contemned me, but was always civill to me and communicative."

The references in the parish register to deaths in the

Wickyns's family show that the master continued to discharge the duties of his office. On 24th December, 1667, he buried his son John, the entry describing the father as "John Wickens, Mr. of Arts, head school Mr. of Manchester." Two months later there is a record of the death of his wife. Martindale refers (p. 189) to the decline in the health of Wickens, who was buried 8th December, 1676, described as "John Wickens Mr. of Arts and head school-Mr. of the ffre school in Manchester." If the date of his successor's appointment in Whatton's *History* (1675, William Barrow) be correct, Wickyns resigned his post in the year preceding that of his death. The Worthington correspondence, 1670, contains a letter from Wickyns to Worthington thanking the latter for helping Wickyns's son to a college fellowship. One of the noteworthy signs of Wickyns's admirable rule is indicated in an order passed by the feoffees of Chetham's Hospital on 4th October, 1669: "It is ordered and agreed that the school boys and all other boys and young youths be not henceforth permitted to make use of the books in the Library, except such scholars as the high master and library keeper shall think fit to admit." This incident shows that the school contained boys who had found encouragement and stimulus in the motto of the school—*Sapere aude.* The advice is taken from the passage in one of Horace's epistles where a countryman is described as coming up to the banks of a stream, where he sat down until it should run dry,—a passage that has been well rendered by the poet Cowley:—

> Begin, be bold, and venture to be wise;
> He who defers this work from day to day
> Does on a river's bank expecting stay
> Till the whole stream, which stopt him, should be gone
> That runs, and, as it runs, for ever will run on.

# THE WILL OF WARDEN HUNTINGDON, 1458.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

BY a royal licence dated 22nd May, 9 Henry V. [1421], the feoffees of Thomas la Warre, clerk, had permission to make the old parish church of Manchester into a collegiate church, and on the 14th June in that year the parishioners assembled together, presented an address to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in favour of the scheme. The decree of the bishop establishing the Collegiate Church is dated August 5th, 1421, in which it is stated that the church of Manchester "having a large spacious and very populous parish, had been accustomed in times past to be ruled and governed by Rectors, of whom some never and some very rarely cared to reside personally in the same, but caused the services of the said church to be performed by stipendiary and removable chaplains." In order to remedy this, "Thomas la Warre, clerk, now rector of the church of Manchester, being moved by a holy and happy purpose," had desired to found a college, with one warden or keeper and so many other fellow chaplains and ministers as to him and to Thomas, Lord Bishop of Durham and his other feoffees, should seem expedient. The bishop decreed that there should be one warden and eight fellows and

other ministers (who were four clerks and six choristers), and that the Collegiate Church should be dedicated "to the praise and honour of the Omnipotent God and the glorious Virgin his mother (to whose honour the said church of Manchester is dedicated), and of the holy martyrs Dionisius and George."*

To the important office of the first warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, Thomas la Warre appointed "Master John Huntyngdon, chaplain, Bachelor of Laws," his letters of presentation being dated 23rd November, 1422. Huntingdon was at this time rector of Ashton-under-Lyne, and although he resigned that living in 1424, he was again appointed to it on June 12th, 1425, and he retained it together with the wardenship of Manchester till his death in 1458. For the comparatively long period of thirty-six years Huntingdon was warden of Manchester, and he seems to have been a man of much energy of character and in every respect well fitted for the post he occupied. He secured the confidence of the gentry of Manchester and the neighbourhood, and his name frequently occurs in deeds and other documents of local importance, many of which are referred to in the late Canon Raines' account of the Wardens of Manchester, recently printed by the Chetham Society (N. S. Vols. V. and VI.).† These deeds also show that, unlike many of his predecessors, the rectors of Manchester,

* The royal licence and the bishop's decree are still preserved among the records of the Dean and Chapter of Manchester. They have been printed in full by Hibbert Ware in his *Foundations of Manchester*, and translations of them are given in "the Second Appendix to Mr. Turner's Letter to the Bishop of Manchester," 1850.

† It may be added that in 1435 he was appointed by John Stafford, Bishop of Wells and Bath, and other feoffees, one of the attornies to receive possession for them of the manor of Manchester, &c.; and he held a similar office on behalf of Sir Reginald West, Knt., in 1450, when he had to deliver the manor of Manchester, &c., to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other foeffees.

he was resident there, and he no doubt devoted the whole of his time and strength to the spiritual wants of this large and neglected parish. He rebuilt the choir of the church and the side aisles, and it has been suggested that he intended at one time to have added two transepts, but these were never carried out.*

Nothing is known of Huntingdon's parentage or birth, but from some deeds, which I have recently examined, and on other grounds, which will subsequently be given, there seems some reason for thinking that his father's name was also John Huntingdon, and that he was probably born in or near Beverley in Yorkshire, to which place his brother is described as belonging. In his will he expresses his gratitude to William Booth, Archbishop of York, who, he states, had watched over him with a never-failing care, and to whom he probably owed much of his advancement in life. William Booth was a Lancashire man by birth, the son of John Booth, of Barton-upon-Irwell, Esq., and it is not improbable that through his instrumentality Huntingdon came to the notice of the lord of the manor of Manchester.

Thomas la Warre died in or before 1427, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Reginald West, Knt., Lord la Warre, who by his charter dated 1st April, 8th Henry VI. [1430], granted to Master John Huntyndon, warden of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary of Manchester, and to Thomas Phillypp, a certain parcel of land, wood, and pasture, called *Over aldeporte*, with all the wood and underwood on the same then growing and existing, to hold to them and their heirs for ever, paying thence for the first

* Mr. Ashpitel observes, "it is more than probable that his intention was to have added two transepts, for there were two walls, built against which there was a moulding, now inside the church, of a character which in ordinary circumstances is never found except on the outside."

ten years the yearly rent of thirty shillings, and subsequently forty shillings per annum. To this grant Edmund de Trafford, John de Pilkyngton, John de Radclif, of Ordessall, Knights, Richard de Radclif, of Radclif, Robert de Longeley, and James de Hulme, Esquires, were witnesses,* all persons of note in Manchester at that time. A few years later, on the 24th August, 1434, Sir Reginald West, Knt., granted to John Huntingdon, "a parcel of waste land beyond Newton Lane, containing in length 186 feet and in breadth on the east part 90 feet and on the west part 66 feet," and one parcel "de le Hangyndyche" in Manchester "on the north part of the said Hangyndyche, beyond the cemetary, containing in length 100 feet and in breadth 30 feet, for the building of an alms house for keeping poor people in the same *(pro una domo elemosinar' ad pauperes in eadem comoratur edificand')*" at the annual rent for the first parcel of land of 8d. and of the other parcel of 6d.† By another deed dated 2nd November, 15th Henry VI. [1434], he had a grant from John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England, and other feoffees, of "all those lands and tenements near Mamcestre called *Nether aldeporte* for ever" (all the wood then growing upon the said lands being however reserved by the grantors) at the annual rent for the first 80 years of 4 marks per annum and afterwards of 20 marks per annum. Edmund de Trafford, Geoffrey de Massye, Thomas de Assheton, Knights, William de Hethon, and James de Hulme being witnesses.‡

These were the most important of the lands to which reference is made in the warden's will and in many other

* Recited in full in a release from Sir Thomas West, Knt., Lord la Warre, to Ralph Hulme and others, dated 20th June, 1510.

† From the original deed. This is also recited in full in the deed of 1510.

‡ Recited in full as before in the deed dated 1510.

documents of a later date. In 1454 he began to put his affairs into order, and in that year made two separate trust deeds both dated 12th November. In these he describes himself as "John Huntingdon, clerk, Master or Warden *(magister sive custos)* of the College of the Blessed Mary of Mamcester," and by the first of them he enfeoffs James Bridde, Hugh Aston, and Nicholas Ravald, chaplains, in "all my messuages, burgages, lands &c. with their appurtenances which I have in the town of Mamcester and Salford or elsewhere in the county of Lancaster and also in Chesterfeld co. Derby or elsewhere (the lands called Nether aldeporte and Over aldeporte only excepted)." By the second of these deeds he enfeoffed the same feoffees in "all those my lands and tenements near Mamcestre called Nether aldeporte which I lately had by the gift and feoffment of John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, then Chancellor of England," &c., and also "all my estate term and possession which I have of and in all the lands and tenements near Mamcestre called Overaldeporte." To both these deeds Edmund Trafford, Geoffrey Mascy, and Thomas Assheton, Knights, Alexander Radclyff and John Trafford, Esquires, were witnesses.* On the next day he drew up the following document in English, which, having been endorsed "Voluntas Joh'is Huntyngton," was considered by the late Canon Raines to be the warden's will, and has been printed as such, whereas it is really a deed expressing his wishes as to what should be done, after his death, with his lands other than Nether Aldport and Over Aldport, which he had settled in trust on the above-named feoffees. The word "voluntas" is rarely if ever at this time used for a "will," the proper description being "testamentum" or "ultima voluntas sive testamentum." In this document he

* From the original deeds.

refers to the new work begun by him in the chancel of the church of Manchester, and desires his lands to be sold and the proceeds applied to the furtherance of that object.

"Bee hit Knawen unto all men wher's I John Huntyngton Clerke and Warden of the Collage of our Lady of Māchester now of late by my dede have gifen and granted to James Bridde, Hugh Aston and Nicoll Ravalde p'istes and to their heirs and assignes for eu' [ever] all the mes'es [messuages] burgages lands ten'ts [tenements] rētes [rents] and s'uyces [services] in Manchester, Salford or in any other place w$^{th}$in the Counte of Lancast'r and also in Chest'rfeld w$^{th}$in the Shir of Derby, that my s$^{d}$ feffes [feoffees] shall suffer me and myne assignes duryng all my lyfe to receive the rents &c. and ymmediable aft$^{r}$ my decesse to selle the same to the best auayle and price yai may Except all the said landes &c. in Chest'rfeld and shall dispose of all such money to the edificacon expences costes and byggyng [*i.e.* building] of the newe werke by me begonen of the Chauncell of the Kirke of our Lady of Manchest'r if so be yat my moveably godes aft'r my decesse suffice noght nor been sufficiaunt'y to p'forme the said edificacon costes and byggyng. And if yai bene sufficiaunt'y y$^{t}$ yen yai shall aft'r my decesse dispose the said suche money rents &c. except bifor' except'd to p'istes to say masses and to make and do oy' [other] dyuine s'vyces and prayers for the Sawle of me the saide John and of all other yat I am endettet or bounden to praie for. And as for all the said landes in Chest'rfeld I wyll yat yai immediate aft'r my decesse y'of enfeoffe my Kyneswoman Elisabeth Baret to hir and to hir heir' for eu' [ever] if sho* then be open lyve or haue heir' of hir body lawfully geton and if sho* be then dede and have

* This word at first sight would seem to be a misreading for *she*. I have, however, met with it in other deeds, particularly in two dated 1453, the year before this one.

noon suche heirs yat yai then shall sell all the said landes in Chest'rfeld and make desposicon y'of in all thynges as yai do of the other heir' aboue said. [There is a clause reserving power to revoke the said will.] Theis' wytnes Edm'nde Trafford Geffrey Mascy Thom' Assheton Knyghtes Alexander Radclif John Trafford esquyers and mony others. Gyuen at Manchester y^e^ xiij day of November the xxxiij^te^ yer' of Kyng Henr' the sixte" [1454]*.

The warden lived for another four years after making the above settlement of his estate, but on the 7th November, 1458, his last will and testament was drawn up. Of this most interesting document, an exact facsimile is given in the accompanying plate, and an extended version of the contracted Latin, with an English translation, here follow. From certain expressions it would almost seem as if the dying warden, "harassed in body by a grievous sickness," had dictated his will to one of his attendant chaplains, who, not being so good a scholar as his master, has made some rather strange mistakes, due to following the ear alone. Thus, "debagans" appears for "debacchans" and "actinus" for "hactenus," mistakes it is otherwise almost impossible to account for. In other respects the will (which, after a lapse of nearly 430 years, has most fortunately been recovered, and is here printed for the first time) is a document of much value, and it throws much new light on the warden's career. In it he expressly states that his body shall be buried "at the first step of the high altar, on which the daily priest begins the mass with the general confession." Each of the fellows who attended his funeral was to have 6s. 8d., each of the four clerks 3s. 4d., each of the choristers 12d. The parish clerks 3s. 4d. between them, and John Belman

* I have taken this document from the version printed by Canon Raines in his account of the Wardens of Manchester, not having seen the original, which, I much fear, is now lost.

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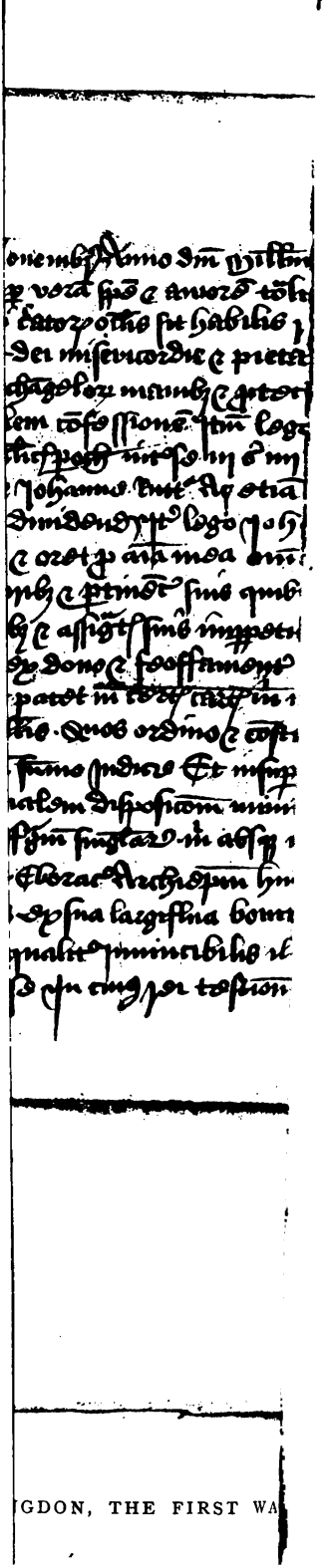

he bell-ringer) 12d. Certain members of the Rutter mily (who are not described as any relations) had cattle ft to them, and Joan Rutter, the wife of William Rutter, ad "a silver pouncet basin with a pouncet cover of different ork namely of roses, that she may keep my memory and ray for my soul all the days of her life." He then refers o the lands he had settled on his feoffees (Hugh Aston's ame being oddly enough omitted), and he then proceeds o say that in case "an unbridled people raging against me with their accustomed fierceness" by stealing what belongs to him, should prevent his will being acted upon, he therefore places his executors under the protection of William, Archbishop of York, who had always befriended him. This part of the will is written in a very impassioned and rather inflated style, which it is somewhat difficult to render into good English. It shows, however, that the warden, even on his deathbed, feared that his wishes would not be carried out, and it indicates that he had had much trouble with his parishioners during his life, which is also confirmed by other documents and public records.

In dei Nomine Amen. Septimo die mensis Novembris Anno domini Millesimo CCCC$^{mo}$ lviij$^{o}$ Ego Johannes Huntyngton clericus Magister sive Custos Collegii [beatæ Mariæ] de Mancestria gravi ægritudine corporis vexatus mente tamen et corde in deo per veram spem et amorem totaliter convexus primo peto peccatorum meorum veniam ut sit anima mea (Christi imago) per lacrimarum penitencias detersa ab omni inquinamento [carn]is et spiritus sui creatoris oculis sit habilis representanda. Et utinam habilis et suo creatori acceptabilis sit hæc anima mea quam nunc in principio testamenti mei divinis manibus hoc est dei misericordiæ et pietati suæque matris *(sic)*

In the name of God, Amen, the seventh day of November in the year of our Lord 1458, I John Huntyngton clerk, master or warden of the college of the Blessed Mary of Manchester, harassed in body by a grievous sickness, yet in mind and spirit entirely sustained by a true hope in God, first, I ask pardon for my sins, that my soul, as an image of Christ, may be cleansed (by the penitence of tears) from all defilement of the flesh and spirit, and may be fit to be presented to the eyes of its Creator. And may my soul be fit and acceptable to its Creator, which soul now in the beginning of this my will, I offer with devout heart and with my mouth

Reginæ virginum beatæ Mariæ peccatorum omnium propiciatrici et benignissimæ pro peccatoribus interventrici Necnon sanctorum patronorum meorum angelorum et archangelorum manibus et protectione *(sic)* offero devoto corde et ore commendo. Corpusque meum statuo sepeliri in ipso gradu summi altaris in quo cotidianus [for quotidianus] sacerdos missam incipit per generalem confessionem. Item lego cuilibet consociorum meorum in die sepulturæ meæ exequiis interessenti vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$ et cuilibet iiij$^{or}$ clericorum iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ Item cuilibet choristarum xij$^{d}$, clericis parochialibus inter se iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ et Johanni Belman xij$^{d}$. Item lego Willielmo Rutter Johannæ uxori ejus Richardo Rutter Thomæ Rutter Willielmo Rutter et Alicæ Rutter filiis prædictorum Willielmi et Johannæ Rutter ac etiam Ceciliæ sorori uxoris prædicti Willielmi cum eisdem commoranti quatuor vaccas quatuor vitulos duas juvencas cum tribus *stirkes* inter eosdem dividendos. Item lego Johannæ uxori prædicti Willielmi Rutter unam crateram argenteam *pouncet* cum uno coopertorio *pouncet* ex opere alio scilicet rosarum, ut habeat memoriam mei et oret pro anima mea omnibus diebus vitæ suæ. Item do et lego Elisabethæ Barret unum burgagium jacens in Chesterfeld quod emi a Richardo Barret patre dicti Elisabethæ cum juribus et pertinenciis suis quibuscunque. Item do et lego omnia burgagia terras et tenementa mea infra Mancestriam et Salfordiam adjacentia Jacobo Brid et Nicholao Ravald capellanis hæredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum prout patet in certis cartis illis inde plenitus confectis. Item

commend, to the divine hands, that is, to the mercy and goodness of God and to his mother, the Blessed Mary, Queen of Virgins, propitiatress of all sins and most bounteous intercessor for sinners, and to the hands and protection of my holy patrons, the angels and archangels.

And my body I ordain to be buried at the first step of the high altar, on which the daily priest begins the mass with the general confession. Item, I bequeath to each one of my fellows, who shall attend at my funeral on the day of my burial vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$ and to each one of the four clerks iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ Item to each one of the choristers xij$^{d}$ and to the parish clerks between them iij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$, and to John Belman, [*i.e.* the bell ringer] xij$^{d}$.

Item, I bequeath to William Rutter, Joan his wife, Richard Rutter, Thomas Rutter, William Rutter, and Alice Rutter, children of the said William and Joan Rutter, and also to Cicely, sister of the wife of the said William, who lives with them, 4 cows, 4 calves, 2 heifers with 3 steers, to be divided amongst them. Item, I bequeath to Joan, wife of the said William Rutter, one silver pounced basin with a pounced cover of different work, namely of roses, that she may keep my memory and pray for my soul all the days of her life.

Item, I give and bequeath to Elisabeth Barret, one burgage lying in Chesterfeld, [co. Derby] which I bought from Richard Barret, father[-in-law]* of the said Elisabeth with all its rights and appurtenances whatsoever.

Item, I give and bequeath all my burgages lands and tenements lying within Manchester and Salford to

* See *postea*, p. 159.

do et lego prædictis Jacobo et Nicholao hæredibus et assignatis suis totum jus et clameum quod habeo ex dono et feoffamento Reginaldi West, domini la Warre in Overaldport et Netheraldport ad terminos certos mihi heredibus et assignatis meis a prædicto domino la Warre concessis prout patet in certis cartis mihi inde plenitus confectis. Item cetera omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia non superius disposita vel legata do et lego prædictis Jacobo et Nicholao capellanis Quos ordino et constituo meos hæredes et fideles executores ut ipsi deum præ oculis habentes ordinent et disponant pro salute animæ meæ prout volunt respondere coram summo judice. Et insuper ne forte gens indomita contra me solita debagans [*sic* for debacchans] feritate quæ mea sunt vel mihi debentur rapiendo istam meam ultimam voluntatem ut virtualem disposicionem minime sortiatur finaliter impediat. Ideo me ipsum ac executorum meorum insufficienciam sub ipsius tuicionis vexillo cujus bonitas immensa ac suffragium singulare mihi absque meis meritis semper actinus [*sic* for hactenus] perimpenditur totaliter immitto, Reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum et dominum meum singularissimum Willielmum permissione divina Eboracensem Archiepiscopum humiliter implorando quatinus consueta sua pietas pro [nunc?] finaliter dilatata sui tentorii fimbria mihi funiculos suos faciens longiores ex sua largiflua bonitate* testa-

James Brid and Nicholas Ravald, chaplains, their heirs and assigns, for ever, as appears in certain charters to them thereof fully made. Item, I bequeath and give to the said James and Nicholas, their heirs and assigns, all the right and claim, which I have of the gift and feoffment of Reginald West, Lord la Warr, of Over Aldport and Nether Aldport for certain terms granted to me, my heirs and assigns, by the said Lord la Warr, as appears in certain charters to me thereof fully made. Item, all my other goods, moveable and immoveable, not before disposed of or bequeathed, I give and bequeath to the said James and Nicholas, chaplains, whom I ordain and appoint my heirs and faithful executors, that they having God before their eyes, may ordain and dispose, for my soul's health, as they would answer in the presence of the most High Judge.

And moreover, lest perchance an unbridled people, raging against me with their accustomed fierceness, by grasping at what belongs, or is owing to me, should prevent this my last will from finally effecting its intended purpose, I therefore place myself and the insufficiency of my executors under the banner of the protection of him whose immeasurable goodness and singular favour is ever up to this point held over me beyond my merits; humbly imploring the most reverend Father and lord in Christ, my most singular good lord, William, by divine

* The testator is plainly alluding to and slightly paraphrasing Isaiah liv. 2, "Dilata locum tentorii tui et pelles tabernaculorum tuorum extende, ne parcas; longos fac funiculos tuos et clavos tuos consolida," or as the English version has it, "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes." For this and other suggestions I am much indebted to C. S. Perceval, Esq., F.S.A.

menti mei supervisor et executorum meorum protector existere dignetur graciosus ut cunctis mortalibus merito preconizari poterit qualiter invincibilis illa caritas qua me dilexit clemencia pastoralis in vita, etiam in morte non aufertur set [for sed] munifica largicione dilatatur copiose. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti testamento sigillum meum apposui.† Datum die et anno supradictis.

permission, Archbishop of York, that his wonted goodness now for the last time extended to me ("enlarging the place of his tent" and "lengthening his cords"* for me) may deign to be the supervisor of my will and the gracious protector of my executors; that it may be deservedly heralded forth to all men, how that invincible affection, with which His Pastoral Clemency loved me, during my life, is not taken away even at my death but is plentifully extended to me.

In witness whereof to this my present will, I have placed my seal.† Given on the day and year above mentioned.

Endorsed on the back of the will:

Istud testamentum fuit legitime probatum coram nobis decano Mamcestriæ et administracio omnium bonorum et catallorum terrarum et tenementum mobilium et immobilium infrascriptorum Johannis defuncti concessa est executoribus infrascriptis in forma juris. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum officii‡ nostri presentibus est appositum. Dat' vicesimo secundo die mensis Novembris anno infrascripto.

Endorsed.

This will was lawfully proved in the presence of us, the Dean of Manchester, and administration of all the goods and chattels, lands and tenements, moveable and immoveable, of the within mentioned John, deceased, was granted to the within named executors, in form of law. In witness whereof the seal‡ of our office is placed.

Given the 22nd day of the month of November in the within mentioned year.

Also endorsed in a different hand:

Testamentum Johannis Huntyngton clerici magistri sive custodis ecclesiæ Collegii beatæ Mariæ de Mancestria.

Endorsed in a different hand:

The will of John Huntyngton, master or warden of the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Manchester.

The warden died on the 11th November, 1458, and the above will was proved before the [Rural] Dean of Manchester on the 22nd November in that year. His executors

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* See note on previous page. † This seal is now missing.

‡ Most unfortunately this seal, which has been affixed on the surface of the parchment, is now quite gone. No perfect example of the seal of the Rural Deans of Manchester is known. I have a worn impression, but the lettering is very indistinct.

placed a very handsome brass to his memory, depicting him in choir vestments, a careful drawing and description of which has been given for the first time by the Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A., in the second volume of this Society's *Transactions*, pp. 92-97. The epitaph placed around this brass, but now much broken, was as follows: (translated) "Here lies John Huntington, Bachelor of Decrees, the first master or warden of this college, who anew built this chancel, who died the eleventh day of the month of November in the year of our lord 1458. On whose soul may God be merciful. Amen."

In 1463, by deeds dated the 10th December in that year, James Bridde, Hugh Aston, and Nicholas Ravald, chaplains, the late warden's feoffees, granted all his lands, &c., including Nether Aldport and Over Aldport, to John Baumford, James Chalner, chaplains, and William Baumford.* Some forty-three years later, in 1506, all these lands (except Nether Aldport) passed by purchase from the warden's right heirs, &c., into the possession of Ralph Hulme, of Manchester, gentleman, and he took the precaution to have his title confirmed by grants from the representatives of the old feoffees. Thus on the 4th September, 1506, "John Ravald, next of kin and heir of Nicholas Ravald, chaplain, viz., son of William Ravald, brother and heir of the said Nicholas," quitclaimed all his right to the late warden's lands (except Nether Aldport) to the said Ralph Hulme, his heirs and assigns for ever.* But disputes arose about these lands, which were finally determined by the arbitration of Anthony Fitzherbert and Richard Hesketh, esquires, "learned in the law," whose award bears date 30th May, 22 Henry VII. [1507]. It appears from this document that Sir Henry Sedall,

* From the original deeds.

William Bradford, and Richard Mascy, "Prest-Vicares" of the College of Manchester, claimed to hold these lands as feoffees for the performance of the last will of Nicholas Ravald, priest, by the feoffment of Sir Thomas Bradford, who had been enfeoffed by Sir John Bamford, priest, who, with others, whom he had survived, had been enfeoffed by the said Nicholas Ravald to fulfil his will, which refers to and contains the substance of the warden's will as far as his lands were concerned.

The arbitrators awarded as follows, to quote the summary given by the late Canon Raines, as I have not as yet examined the original deed, now preserved in the Chapter-house among the records of the Dean and Chapter. A deed was to be made by Ralph Hulme to certain feoffees of all the warden's lands, &c., in Lancashire and elsewhere (except Nether Aldport), and the said feoffees were empowered to receive out of the rents of the said lands the sum of one hundred shillings a year for a priest to say mass in the Collegiate Church, the said priest to be nominated by Ralph Hulme and his heirs for ever. The priest so appointed was to pray for the soul of John Huntingdon and his benefactors, for the souls of Geoffrey and Elizabeth Hulme, father and mother of the said Ralph, for the souls of Thomas, late Earl of Derby, and George, his son, late Lord Strange, and for the good estate of the said Ralph Hulme and Elizabeth [Bexwick] his wife, and their children and heirs, and also for the good estate of Thomas, Earl of Derby, then living, for James Stanley, then Bishop of Ely, and for all the feoffees that were or should be seised to the use of the said chantry lands, and after their decease to pray for their souls and for all Christian souls for ever. And the said Ralph Hulme was ordered to pay to Sir Henry Sydall sixty shillings towards his costs and charges in this matter. The moneys received towards the erection,

costs, and building of the chancel of the Collegiate Church since the death of the warden and all Sir Henry Sydall's costs were to be ordered and decided by Robert Cliffe, then warden of Manchester, Thomas Langley, rector of Prestwich, and two other persons, according to Huntingdon's will. It was also awarded that a yearly obit should be kept, with a dirge, after noon, and a mass of requiem on the morrow after, with note,* for the souls of the said Sir John Huntingdon, his benefactor, and others, on the 11th November, that being the day on which the said Sir John died. The original award bears the signatures of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, the two umpires, and those of Sydall and Hulme.

In order to conform to the decision of the arbitrators and to confirm his title to the lands so granted to him, Ralph Hulme, by deeds dated 25th April and 10th July, 1507, had a quitclaim from Thomas Bradford, clerk, and William Bradford, clerk, respectively, of all their right, interest, &c., in the late warden's lands.† By deed dated 19th July in the same year he granted and confirmed to Randle Poole, clerk; Oliver Thornelegh, clerk; Richard Bexwick, son of Roger Bexwick, of Mamcester; Ralph Holland, of Clayton, William Galey, Seth Galey, and Thomas Bexwick, son of Richard Bexwick, all those burgages, lands, &c., which lately belonged to John Huntyngdon, in Manchester and Salford (except the lands called Netheraldeporte), within the lordship of Manchester, to have and to hold to them their heirs and assigns for ever to the use and intent of the articles contained in a certain indenture tripartite, made with the assent and consent of the said Ralph Hulme and Henry Sedall, according to the arbitration of Anthony Fitzherbert and Richard Hesketh, and sealed by the said

* That is "cum notâ," signifying that the service is to be sung.

† From the original deeds.

Ralph, Henry, Anthony, and Richard, of which the date is 30th May, 22 Henry VII. [1507].* By another deed dated 2nd August in this year Henry Sydall, Thomas Bradford, John Bamford, William Bradford, and Richard Massye, clerks, quitclaimed to the said feoffees all their right, &c., in the said lands.†

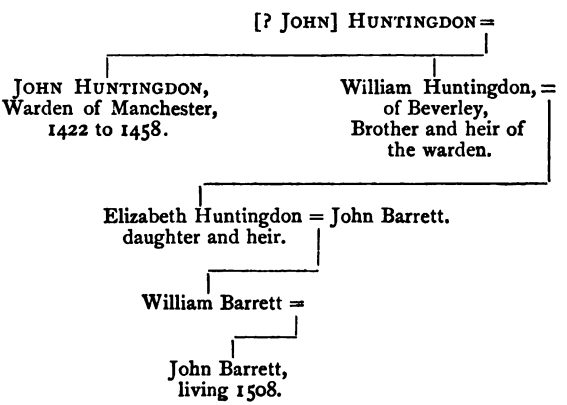
In the following year, by a deed dated 28th June, 1508, Ralph Hulme had a further confirmation of his title to these lands from the heirs of the deceased warden, from whom he had purchased them by indentures dated 1st August, 1506, already noticed. This deed, which supplies some new and interesting information regarding the warden's kindred, is as follows:—‡ Be it known, &c., that I, John Barette, next of kin and heir of John Huntyngton, clerk, late warden of the College of the Blessed Mary of Manchester, viz. son of William Barette, son of John Barette and Elizabeth, his wife, the which Elizabeth was daughter and heir of William Huntyngton, of Beverley, brother and heir of the said John Huntyngton, in consideration of certain sums of money to me paid by Ralph Hulme, have granted and confirmed to the said Ralph Hulme, all those messuages, lands, &c., with their appurtenances, in Manchester and Salford, which James Bridde, Hugh Assheton (*sic* for Aston), and Nicholas Ravald, chaplains, lately had of the gift and feoffment of the said John Huntyngton to perform the last will of the said John Huntyngton and otherwise to the use of the said John Huntyngton and his heirs for ever, to have and to hold the said messuages, &c., to the said Ralph Hulme, his heirs and assigns for ever. With clause of warranty. Oliver Thornelegh, clerk, was appointed attorney to deliver seisin.§

* From the original deed. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

§ Attached to this deed is one of the original deeds of purchase dated 1st August, 21 Henry VII., 1506, prior to the arbitration. In this the lands called Netheraldeporte are mentioned as specially exempted in the grant made by John Huntingdon.

Finally, in order to make everything secure, Ralph Hulme and Oliver Thornelegh, chaplain, obtained a release from "Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord La Warr, next of kin and heir of Reginald West, late Lord Lawarr, viz. the son of Richard, son of the said Reginald," under his hand and seal, dated 20th June, 2 Henry VIII. [1510] (reciting the grants of Sir Reginald West to John Huntyngdon made in 1430, 1434, and 1436), of all his right, title, &c., in the said lands, they agreeing to pay the annual rent of £4. 14s. 6d. to the said Lord La Warre and his successors for ever.* It is worthy of a passing note that Ralph Hulme was the direct ancestor (the great-great-great-grandfather) of William Hulme, of Manchester, the founder of the Hulmeian Exhibitions, &c., and it is not impossible that some of Warden Huntingdon's lands in Manchester are amongst those from which the Hulmeian Trustees now derive so large an income.

From the above deed, dated 1506, the following pedigree of the warden's relations may be deduced :—


[? JOHN] HUNTINGDON =
JOHN HUNTINGDON, Warden of Manchester, 1422 to 1458.
William Huntingdon, = of Beverley, Brother and heir of the warden.
Elizabeth Huntingdon = John Barrett. daughter and heir.
William Barrett =
John Barrett, living 1508.

A document in the Record Office affords a reason for thinking that the name of the warden's father was John

* From the original deed.

Huntingdon. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls (Duchy of Lancaster Records) there is a record of the appointment of Richard de Hoghton, Knt., John Pilkyngton, Knt., Alexander de Radcliff, Esq., Thurstan Holland, Esq., William Garnet, Christopher Hilton, William Ambrose, and John Baumford, to hold a special gaol delivery for John Huntyngdon, clerk, keeper of the College of Manchester and others, dated 25th November, 1443. A few years later John Pilkyngton, Knt., Thomas Assheton, Knt., and Alexander de Radclyff, Esquire, had a warrant for the attachment of Thomas Trafford of Chorlton, gent., *John, son of John Huntyngdon*, clerk, and others, dated 21st April, 1446.* These records evidently refer to some troubles in Manchester in which the warden was implicated.

It is of course only an assumption, after all, that because William Huntingdon, the brother of the warden, is described as of Beverley, that therefore the warden and his father were connected with that town, but that it is probably true receives some confirmation from a consideration of the following note. In a MS. of the last century, the author, whom I have not at present been able to identify with certainty, but who was clearly closely connected with the Collegiate Church, thus writes about that building (the italics are mine):—

"The Quire [of the Collegiate Church of Manchester] though built at the same Time with the Church as appears by the Workmanship, yet was not finished, as to the ornamental part of it, for some Time after, the Case was built in the first Warden Huntington's Time and some say by him and the Roof finished as appears by his Rebus yet upon it: And some think the carved Work and Stalls on the North Side, though I rather think it was done at the

* I have had this document looked at and it is clearly "John son of John Huntyngdon." No particulars are given of the disputes.

cost of Mr Richd Bexwick, who is said to have been a considerable Benefactor to the Quire, as that on the South Side was by Warden Stanley, Bp of Ely: the Stanley's Crest being yet entire on the outside of the Wardens Stall and that in such a Form and representation as perhaps is not to be met with elsewhere, being an Eagle's nest in a Wood of Trees, with several country Fellows passing through it with their Staves and Budgets [*i.e.*, wallets] on their Shoulders, gazing up at it as the first Finders of it.

"*But at whose Care and Cost soever the Quire was beautifyed with its neat carved Work, the Model was certainly taken from the old Church of Beverly in Yorkshire, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist and famous for the Memory of John of Beverly, the Founder, whose Picture is in part yet remaining in the Windows of our Chapter House and perhaps for that Reason. The Length and Heighth, and Number of Seats and entire Model of the carved Work do so exactly correspond with that of Beverly, that there is no doubt but it was made after that Pattern.*"

This is a very interesting account of the choir of Manchester Collegiate Church in the early part of the last century, by one who evidently knew it well. If Warden Huntingdon, who certainly built the choir, was a Beverley man, that would account for it and the stalls being modelled on the choir and stalls of Beverley Minster, and would also be a reason for placing a portrait of John of Beverley in the Chapter house windows.

# PROCEEDINGS.

*Friday, January 16th, 1885.*

## ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Chetham Library, Manchester. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., the retiring President, occupied the chair.

Mr. G. C. Yates, the Honorary Secretary, read the Annual Report of the Council and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, which were adopted on the motion of Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, seconded by Mr. J. Taylor Kay.

The Chairman said he would like, in vacating the office of President, to say a few words with regard to the position of the Society. The members were to be congratulated very heartily on the result of their labours. The real historical and antiquarian work done by the Society in Cheshire and Lancashire was of no small importance in these times. In a commercial centre like Manchester, given for the most part to money getting and like concerns, they had constituted themselves in some sense the guardians, and in some sense the exponents, of the antiquities of the district and the materials for its history. The work they had done was important also with relation to the social life of the district. Unfortunately, from the condition of his surroundings, he had been able neither to be an ornamental nor an effective working president. Notwithstanding this the Society, in virtue of its own momentum, had been able to achieve a very creditable career. For his own part he had learned a

great deal from attending the meetings of the Society, and not merely in regard to the antiquities of the two counties. He had seen the social side of the Antiquarian Society, and that was an exceedingly pleasant side of it. The Society had tided over the critical stage in its history. It was exceedingly difficult to make any fresh departure, but they had got over all the trouble of starting, and were now in full swing. They were, it might be said, fairly equipped for the battle of life among other societies, and had taken their rank among the antiquarian societies of the country. He had no doubt that during the reign of his successor the Society would continue to flourish.

On the motion of Mr. H. H. Sales, seconded by the Rev. J. N. Pocklington, the thanks of the Society were given to Professor Dawkins for his services as President, and also to the Vice-Presidents, Council, and Honorary Secretary.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Council for the ensuing year :—

*President:*

The Right Hon. the Lord EGERTON OF TATTON, F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents:*

Sir THOMAS BAKER.
Lieut.-Col. H. FISHWICK, F.S.A.

*Of the Council:*

WM. E. A. AXON, F.R.S.L.
J. EGLINGTON BAILEY, F.S.A.
J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE ESDAILE,
ROBERT LANGTON, F.R.H.S.
The Rev. E. F. LETTS, M.A.
GEORGE PEARSON.
Rev. J. H. STANNING, M.A.
CHARLES W. SUTTON.
W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

*Treasurer:* FREDERICK A. WHAITE.

*Honorary Secretary:* GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A.

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## *Friday, February 6th,* 1885.

Meeting at the Memorial Hall, Manchester, the Rev. J. H. Stanning in the chair.

Mr. W. S. Churchill read a paper on "Modern Instances

of an Erased Coinage" (see p. 58), and exhibited a collection of Swedish and other coins in illustration of his remarks.

Mr. James C. Scholes read a paper on "Bolton Bibliography," which has since been considerably enlarged and published in a volume.

Mr. Scholes, Mr. J. P. Earwaker, Mr. Bannister, and other members exhibited specimens of the productions of the Bolton press.

Mr. Robert Langton read a paper on "The Remains of Norman Architecture in the Neighbourhood of Manchester" (see p. 32).

The Rev. E. F. Letts said it was very possible that the Manchester Cathedral was in part a Norman church, and it was certain that in the early Plantagenet reigns a church of early English architecture was erected here.

Mr. Langton, however, demurred to the assumption that any traces of a Norman church had been discovered there. He believed there was a Saxon church in Manchester, and there might have been alterations in Norman times, but he did not think there was ever a Norman church where the cathedral now stands.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman showed a set of seventeenth-century mercantile negotiable instruments.

Mr. George Esdaile exhibited a copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 1492, and some drawings by Martin, the incendiary of York Minster.

The Hon. Secretary showed a Swedish daler of Frederick Hesse Cassell, 1727, and a half daler of 1721, weighing 14oz.

The following new members were elected: Messrs. Frank Grafton, William Harrison, Gilbert J. French, Charles F. Berry, and William Ecroyd.

After the ordinary business the meeting was made special, for the consideration of proposed alterations of the rules. The following were adopted :—

"Each retiring President shall retain his seat on the Council and become a Vice-President." "The Council

shall prepare a house list, to be printed and circulated amongst the members at least fourteen days previous to the annual meeting, together with a list of nominations made by any of the members, such nominations to be delivered to the Honorary Secretary not later than the 15th December in each year."

The rule *Government* was altered as follows :—

"The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council consisting of the President of the Society, two Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and *fifteen* members elected from the general body of members."

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*Friday, March 6th*, 1885.

Meeting at the Memorial Hall, Manchester, Mr. W. Thompson Watkin in the chair.

The Rev. J. Herbert Kidson, M.A., read a communication on "The Patron Saint of Prestwich, and the Old Deeds of the Church," and distributed, to the members present, copies of his paper, reprinted from the *Prestwich Parish Magazine* for March, 1885.

Mr. Albert Nicholson read a paper on "Lancashire in the Rebellion of 1715" (see p. 66), and showed the following portraits, &c.: Small miniature portraits on copper of the old Pretender and the Princess Sobieski, his wife; engraved portraits of Lieutenant-General Wills, James III., John Bruce (executed for treason, 1716); George Collingwood (executed at Liverpool, February 25, 1715-6); Colonel Henry Oxburg, Richard Gascoigne, William Paul, John Hall, James Earl of Derwentwater, Philip Lockhart (the last six executed in 1716); William Viscount Kenmure (convicted of treason 1716); Samuel Peploe, Bishop of Chester; engraving of "the chair formerly belonging to Lady Derwentwater;" "the Lady Derwentwater with her lord's picture in her hand, that was beheaded on Tower Hill, 1716;" an Act for the application of the rents and

profits of the estates forfeited by the attainders of James, late Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Ratcliffe.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker read a paper on "Child Marriages in Lancashire and Cheshire in the Sixteenth Century." He said many of them might have remarked in reading the lives of kings and queens, princes and princesses, and others occupying positions of high rank, that it not unfrequently happened that they were contracted or married to one another at an early age, but he thought that few even of those who had made any study of the history of the past would believe that in the sixteenth century—in the time of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth—it was customary for persons of all ranks in life to marry their children at ages which were to us not only astonishing but almost incredible. These marriages were not simply contracts, "spousals," betrothals, or any preliminary engagements of that kind, but were *bona-fide* marriages "in the face of the Church," performed in the church by the clergy of the respective parishes, before large congregations, with all the usual ceremonies of the matrimonial service. "The words of matrimony," as they were called, had to be openly spoken by these children, and the marriages were solemnised in every respect "according to the *Book of Common Prayer*." In some cases banns were published, in others licences were obtained, and after the ceremony the child-bride and the child-bridegroom were taken to the house of one of their parents, where the usual wedding dinner took place, at which they were present. Their after life varied according to circumstances. In the majority of cases the two children were brought up together at the house of one of their parents, the boy being sent away to school as he grew in years until such time when they had either to agree to the marriage or else to annul it by procuring a divorce. These marriages solemnised between children of the very youngest age were absolutely binding on the parties contracting them, for when they came to what was termed in law "years of consent"—in

the case of boys fourteen, and in the case of girls twelve years of age—they could either break off the marriage by procuring a formal divorce in the Ecclesiastical Court, or they could confirm it either by agreeing to "love and like one another" in the presence of witnesses, or simply by letting matters go on as they were, and recognising one another as husband and wife. In no case, however, could either party marry again, as long as both were living, without a proper divorce having been procured. Mr. Earwaker then enumerated a number of cases in which children of four, five, six, seven, nine, and ten years of age were married together. In one case the boy was only three and the girl only two years of age, and one of the witnesses described that as "the youngest marriage that ever he was at." To annul marriages of this kind the parties had to appear before the Ecclesiastical Court, and there to testify that they had no "liking" or love for one another, or that they did not "fancy" one another sufficiently well to be man and wife. If one party only objected, and persevered in the objection, the marriage was dissolved. In all these cases, however, the Court generally made careful inquiry, and elicited from the witnesses whether at any time since they had attained to their "years of consent" they had in any way ratified the marriage, either by calling one another "husband" and "wife," by "embracing" or "kissing" one another, or by giving and receiving "tokens." It sometimes happened that the parents or friends of the young married couple wished it to be publicly known that the contracting parties had, after reaching "the years of consent," agreed to ratify and confirm the marriage between them. For this purpose a meeting of their relatives and friends took place, and then, in the presence of these, and generally in the presence of some official or representative of the Ecclesiastical Court, they each declared their willingness to accept one another as husband and wife. These proceedings were duly taken down and were occasionally enrolled in the records of the Consistory Court, and a copy given to each

of the parties. Such documents were, however, by no means common.*

Mr. E. Hadfield read a paper on "Clifton Hall and its Owners." He said the hall was situated in close proximity to Clifton Junction Railway Station, about half way between Manchester and Bolton, and had been used for the last fifty years as a private asylum, during which time it had undergone considerable alterations. Before the railway was made, an uninterrupted view of the beautiful Irwell valley was obtained from the house; but the prospect had since been spoilt, although the view towards Prestwich was still very fine. Mr. Hadfield quoted from Aikin's *Thirty Miles round Manchester*, Canon Raines' notes to Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, the Lancashire Visitation of 1533, Baines' *Lancashire*, and Corry's *Lancashire*. From these authorities it appeared that the hall was in early times the residence of the Holland family—a branch of the family of that name seated at Holland, near Wigan. Another branch of the family resided at Denton Hall, and were possessed of Heaton Hall and estate. In the 21st of Henry VII. (1506), the manor of Clifton was in possession of John Holland, gentleman, from whom it descended to Thomas Holland, who was buried at Eccles in 1565. His widow (daughter of Thomas Langley, of Agecroft) survived until 1604. Their daughter, Elinor, was married in 1606, and the manor conveyed to her husband, Ralph Slade. Colonel Richard Holland, another owner of Clifton, was a considerable person during the Commonwealth. He was governor of Manchester in 1642, and member for the county in Cromwell's second Parliament in 1654. At his death he was succeeded in an estate of £800 per annum by a younger brother, aged sixty. This brother died unmarried on the day that had been fixed for his marriage with Mrs. Britland. The manor, which did not pass with the hall, became the property of the Heathcotes. In the year 1652

* Mr. Earwaker has since enlarged his paper and proposes to publish it in an independent form.—*Ed.*

(as Mr. Hadfield had been informed by Mr. Milnes Gaskell, the present owner), Clifton Hall was purchased by Mr. Nathaniel Gaskell, the son of John Gaskell, who was a wealthy and munificent citizen of Manchester, and an influential Parliamentarian. In Henry Newcome's *Diary* (Chetham Society) there are several references to Nathaniel Gaskell, with whom the Presbyterian pastor was on intimate terms. It is worthy of remark that the first Gaskell of Clifton was grandfather of the celebrated Lord Clive, the hero of Plassy. For several generations the Gaskell family were prominent members of the Cross Street Chapel congregation; and Sir Thomas Baker, in his *Memorials* of that chapel, has given some interesting particulars concerning them and their alliances—the Bayleys, the Butterworths, and others. Among the tablets in the Cross Street Chapel is one to the memory of Daniel Gaskell, of Clifton, who died 22 June, 1759, aged fifty-eight, which was removed from the ground in the centre aisle of the chapel during the alterations in 1873, and placed in its present position on the wall, by the trustees of Mr. Robert Henry Kay. About sixty years ago Clifton Hall was the residence of Mr. Benjamin Arthur Heywood, one of the founders of the banking house in Manchester of that name.

Mr. G. Esdaile exhibited four coins of Lucilla, A.D. 169–185; *The Old Bailey Chronicle*, containing accounts of the execution of Jacobites in 1746; fac-simile of the earlier canon "Wolcum Yol," Sloane MSS. 2593, which is identical with the first part of "Summer is a coming in," Harl. MSS. 978; Sallust in English, with armorial book-plate of the city of Edinburgh, and inscription "ex libris Caroli Stuart 1758."

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited an hotel bill, dated March 18th, 1820, of H. Woodhouse, Griffin Inn, Dangerous Corner, Manchester.

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*Tuesday, March 10th*, 1885.

Special meeting in the reading room of the Chetham Library, which was lighted by gas for the first time.

Mr. Oliver Heywood, one of the feoffees of the Chetham Hospital, occupied the chair.

Mr. Henry Taylor communicated the following note on "The Music Gallery at Chetham Hospital:"—An interesting little apartment in this most interesting pile of buildings has recently been exposed to view by the removal from it of a portion of the library of the late James Crossley, F.S.A., and public interest has been excited as to its former uses. The apartment is over the "bay" of the great hall, at the westerly end of the high table, and measures on plan about twelve feet in length and three feet six inches in width. It is separated from the great hall by a stone wall about twelve inches thick, in which are two quatre-foiled openings, the centres of which are about the height of a man's eye from the floor. It is lit by a row of little windows in its west wall, and by larger windows at its north end. There are many indications that this corner of the hall was not built at the same time as the adjoining parts, or, at any rate, that alterations have taken place here since the first erection. For instance, on entering the little room in question, our attention is at once attracted to a bold, wooden, pointed arch carrying the roof on its eastern side. The lower portion of this arch, however, has been truncated, and it is clearly incongruous with the surrounding stonework, which appears to be of later date. The first minute-book of the feoffees contains a record of a speech made by Mr. Richard Hollinworth on the 5th of August, 1656, on the occasion of the dedication of the hospital. In this speech it is stated "That the house had formerly been the haule or manor house of the Grelles, or Gressleys, lords of Manchester, and was then called Baron's Court or Baron's Yerde; *and afterwards it was built* colledge-wise for the inhabitation of the warden and fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, and called 'The Colledge.'" This quotation thus affirms that a rebuilding actually did take place. In a chapter on the Chetham Hospital in my work on the *Old Halls of Lancashire and Cheshire*, I have stated in detail the reasons why

I think the original Baron's Hall (which might date from the reign of Edward III.) was of the half-timbered or "black and white" construction, its walls being of timber and plaster. I have also explained in the same work why I think that in the reconstruction of the edifice referred to in Richard Hollinworth's speech, as quoted above, the old roofs were used up again, and the wooden walls replaced by stone ones. On this assumption the theory which has been broached, that this little room was originally the musicians' gallery of the Baron's Hall, receives full support. In the later "great halls," as at Hoghton Tower, the minstrels' gallery was usually over the "screens" at the kitchen end of the apartment, opposite the dais, but in the earlier halls, as at Ordsall, the music gallery was not infrequently over the bay, in a similar position to the example now under consideration. The pointed wooden arch would form the natural opening between the music gallery and the great hall, as being part of the original half-timbered building. The bottom portions of the arch certainly bear indications of having been connected with wooden posts or framework. It was of such woodwork that I think the walls were originally constructed. A very similar example is to be found in the half-timbered old hall at Denton, near Manchester. The southern side of this wooden arch at the Chetham Hospital appears to be concentric with the grand canopy which surmounts the high table, and to be designed in connection with it, so as to form a dignified architectural feature. The numerous windows in this little apartment are, I suggest, a copy of those in the former half-timbered structure, their use being to give light to the musicians, and also to throw a flood of light down upon the high table and its occupants. I need hardly stop to name precedents for this additional lighting of the high table end of the great hall, as a reference to any text-book will show it was an almost universal practice. In the rebuilding of the home of his forefathers by Thomas de la Warre, there would be many motives for the change of material from wood to stone in

the construction of the walls; for not merely was this process then being carried out in many secular buildings, but in the stately colleges, which were at that time rising at Oxford and Cambridge, the more permanent material was in universal use. Upon the handing over of the buildings from secular to religious uses, this musicians' gallery would be no longer needed as such, and in the rebuilding of the walls, the archway between it and the great hall would be therefore done away with. The access to this closet is from the warden's withdrawing room, and in the building up of the archway by Thomas de la Warre, a communication was still arranged for between this little room and the great hall by the formation in the thin stone spandrel of the two quatre-foiled piercings or little windows referred to above. This room (in its rearrangement by Thomas de la Warre) may have had a double use—that of the warden's oratory, and also, as described above, for the warden's use in listening to the conversation of those below in the great hall, and in keeping order. The quatre-foiled openings are not large enough for the gallery to have served the purpose of the pulpit, or for the reader at meal times, of which examples are to be found in the fratry at Chester, and in the refectory at Easby, and elsewhere; its position is, however, right for such a use, near the high table. That the musicians' gallery was not at the buttery or kitchen end of the hall is clear from the character of the massive old screens, which are battlemented and finished off at the top without any preparation for such a superstructure, and from their architectural character it may be safely conjectured that they were the original screens of the old Baron's Hall.

A discussion, in which Professor Dawkins, Rev. E. F. Letts, and other gentlemen took part, followed the reading of the paper.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon gave a short historical sketch of Chetham College. He did not think that the college could maintain the claim of being the first free library in Europe, but it could safely be said of it, without fear of contradiction,

that for two centuries it had been the most freely accessible library either in England or the Continent; and that at a time when the policy of those who had charge of libraries was to keep the public from them the opposite policy was carried into effect there. Chetham College had had its effect on the literature of the county. There was scarcely a man who had written on the local history of this district—indeed, he might say there was not one—who had not benefited by the store of knowledge which that foundation had placed at his disposal; and not only so, but humbler men of science—men like Edward Hobson and George Caley, who, in the midst of the greatest difficulties and disadvantages, attained to great scientific eminence—had benefited by the valuable works of natural history or of scientific information which were contained in that institution.

On the motion of Mr. J. E. Bailey, seconded by the Rev. J. N. Pocklington, a vote of thanks was passed to the feoffees of the college for permitting the Society to meet in the college buildings, and for affording the members the opportunity of inspecting portions of the interesting structure.

New member elected: Mr. Ernest Thorp.

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*Tuesday, March* 31*st*, 1885.

Meeting at the Memorial Hall, Manchester, Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A., presiding.

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper on Ruling the Planets in the early part of this Century, and exhibited the original Burial Register of the Chapel of St. James, Over Darwen, 1819–27.

Mr. John Owen exhibited a curious stone carving from the Manchester Cathedral.

Mr. N. Heywood showed specimens of Abyssinian Ring-Money.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited: (1) A beautifully-worked flint arrow head, in perfect condition, and a flint scraper, found by him on a recent ramble over the moors, near Bacup. It was found *in situ* in a place from which about eight feet of turf had been taken. (2) Two engraved metal plates—"The Crucifixion," Michel Benicke, 1667, and "Pomona," Bartel Pee-ningh, 1667. (3) *Pia Desideria*, by Herm. Hugone (Antwerp, 1632), said to have been taken from the Emperor of China's Summer Palace.

The following new members were elected: Cecil G. Saville Foljambe, M.P., F.S.A.; William Henry Heathcote.

Mr. John Eglington Bailey read the following paper on "Pietro Vannes, Rector of Mottram-in-Longdendale":—

Longdendale, unnoticed by Camden because it lay in the most obscure part of Cheshire, is celebrated for its wild beauty and wealth of water. The very name of the valley "lisps in numbers," and lends itself to inspire a sonnet or a song which might without undue poetic licence declare that the muse need not now dedicate its powers to the praise of the Bæotian Mount, for that in our Mancunian region there is likewise a hill-country—a Helicon where we, too, have our fountains of Hippocrene, our springs of Aganippe, and our river Permessus. Certainly, the great community which this Cheshire valley feeds ought to regard the place with an almost reverential interest. A reflective mind has probably never surveyed Longdendale as changed by the exigencies of modern life, or never taken a draught of its excellent water, without grateful thoughts. The very profusion of the beneficent gift, at our hands everywhere, hinders the mind from more commonly reverting to these Longdendale hills, which, on the score of public health and prosperity, are literally the "hills from whence cometh our help." Ample justice has not yet been done to the history of the district. A well-known poem, indeed, or "description in verse," going to the tune of the Babes in the Wood, has been devoted to it by a member of the Manchester Corporation, beginning—

Manchester waterworks
Are made on a large scale,
And situated in
The vale of Longdendale.

Mr. R. B. Robinson is the author of a poem "Longendale," and has added to it a short account of Peter Vannes; and the engineer, Mr. Bateman, the Aquarius in the Zodiac of Manchester, has lately issued a large book, which, upon the narrow lines it takes, is all that can be desired. The district generally has been dealt with by Stockdale, the brothers Lysons, Dr. Ormerod, the late Canon Raines, and Mr. Earwaker; but there is still room for a suitable memorial of a spot which, in addition to its interest in having given nourishment to a teeming population for a full generation, has a wide reach of history full of attractions to an inquiring mind. The description of the parish recalled with most pleasure is that of John Stockdale, the publisher, of London, compiled before the year 1795, whose project of writing the history of the place, where he met with a wife and where he had an extensive acquaintance, grew into that favourite volume familiar to us as Aikin's *Description of the Country round Manchester.* The map in that work and the view by Sherd exhibit a parish, literally a long dene in a dale, for it is ten miles in length and from one to four broad, and is made up of wastes and hills and "a country of springs;" but in the time of the Tudors the aspect was more savage, for the population was sparse. The region was familiar to Bishop Gastrell in Queen Anne's days as a wild country, consisting of hills and moors, as bearing no corn, but only oats and a little barley. It was already noted for its water at the end of that century, for Dr. Aikin said that most of the hills had springs on the sides and some on the tops, all of which were of soft water.

The village of Mottram lay upon one of the ways from Manchester and Stockport into Yorkshire. The manor was held under the lords of Halton Castle, and the route up to

the hills being at some early time either infested with robbers or liable to be effaced by storms, the tenants in the valley were bound according to an ancient tenure, called the Ward of the Ways, to annually "put in order the roads leading to Chester at the time of the Chester Fair" (*De Lacy Compoti*, p. xv). The domains formed part of the estates of the potent Lacies, and when Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, to whom they descended, was executed, A.D. 1321, the manor passed into the king's hands. The next lords were the Lovells, and on the attainder, in 1485, of Francis Viscount Lovell (the "dog" of the political epigram), for his concern in the Simnel revolt, the property was again confiscated. Then followed the royal grant of the lordship to the Stanleys, of Holt Castle, and by the treason of Sir William Stanley, in 1495, over Perkin Warbeck's affair, the manor was once again estreated to the Crown. The local historians comment on the remarkable fact of this triple misfortune to three families; but none of them have recorded that in the next century, after the lapse of a generation, there was yet a fourth attainder. From the present investigations the existing blank in the succession of the manor from 1495 to 1525 can in part if not altogether be filled up. The Longdendale estates were in fact retained for a time in Henry VIII.'s hands, who appointed stewards and auditors, received the rents, and presented the rectors.

Amongst the latter none was more famous than Pietro Vannes, and amongst the lords none more infamous than William Brereton. These two persons were very conspicuous figures in the history of their time, the one abroad as the crafty priest and ambassador, the other at home as the unscrupulous courtier; and they are not inapt types of the characters in the mighty drama then being enacted on the European stage, a drama first adequately laid before our gaze in the pages of Froude and Brewer. Of the career of Brereton, the hero of this fourth attainder, which was brought about by his abuse of the king's confidence in

matters touching Queen Anne Boleyn, it seems desirable to present (for the first time) a connected narrative, which, it would be seen, adds some material facts in the elucidation of Cheshire history. The Cheshire historians scarcely allude to Brereton under the manor of Longdendale.

William Brereton was the seventh son of Sir Randle Brereton, of Shocklach and Malpas, chamberlain of Chester, and one of the knights of the body to Henry VII. Three of his sons at least were introduced to court life. In 1516 William was an esquire of the body extraordinary in the household of Henry VIII., and he had so far won his master's good opinion as to be rewarded with the comptrollership of North Wales and the palatinate of Chester. On the 16th March, 1524-5, the king gave him a lease of the manor of Aldeford, Echeles, and Nether Alderley for twenty years from the expiration of the lease of the same held by Ralph Egerton, knight; and then also began his connection with Mottram, of which Peter Vannes at the time was parson. The grant also made over to Brereton the office of steward of "Londondale" for life. On 2nd August, 1530, he had the grant of the manor itself, made out in survivorship to himself and Elizabeth his wife, at the annual rent of a penny. His wife was daughter of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, and widow of Sir John Savage. Brereton was lord of Shotwick, escheator of Cheshire, and ranger of Delamere Forest. After receiving the stewardship of the castles of Lyons and Holt, in the marches of Wales, and a great many other favours from the king, Brereton, upon the queen's fall, was arraigned for high treason, found guilty by a jury, and executed in May, 1536. He pleaded not guilty of the crime charged against him. George Cavendish, Wolsey's gentleman-usher and biographer, had little doubt of Brereton's guilt. He was well acquainted with him, for, when relating the events of the close of Wolsey's career, after his fall, he dwelt upon one incident of special moment which occurred when Wolsey was at Southwell, where Brereton appeared as the bearer of important messages and

papers from the king. The same Cavendish was the author of some *Metrical Visions* concerning the fortunes and fall of the most eminent persons of his time, wherein he makes the *quondam* page point in self-condemnatory language the moral of an ill-spent life. It is represented that one cause of grief to Brereton's conscience was the death of a man named Eton, whom he had caused to be hanged "through old rankor." To what circumstance this tragedy in Cheshire relates is not yet known. The poem further commemorated the king's exceeding bounty to Brereton; and the grant of the chief stewardship of Holt Castle, and not the manor of Longdendale, is singled out as the most substantial mark of the royal favour:

> Furnished with romes [places] I was by the Kyng,
> The best, I ame sewer, he had in my countrie;
> Steward of the Holt, a rome of great wynning
> In the marches of Wales, the which he gave to me;
> Where of all men I had sewer great plenty
> The King for to serve, both in town and field,
> Redely furnished with horse, spear, and shield.

This remarkable poem concludes:

> Although in office I thought myself strong,
> Yet here is myne end for mynystring wrong.

Peter de Vannes was a man of mark, and one of the busy factors in the events that were moulding the destinies of England. He was a dignified ecclesiastic, collector in England of the papal revenues, a friend of Erasmus, an acquaintance of Ascham, an able statesman, and the representative of England abroad. Vannes was a native of Lucca in Tuscany, born about 1485. He was related to Andreas Ammonio, who obtained the notice of Sir Thomas More and who became Latin secretary to Henry VIII. There are many notices of Vannes in the entertaining correspondence of Erasmus and Ammonio. The latter, who died of the sweating-sickness in 1517, and was buried at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, left a hundred nobles to Vannes, who was his executor. The same year

Vannes begged of Cardinal Wolsey some living vacant by his kinsman's death; and Silvester de Giglis, Bishop of Worcester and Orator at Rome, also urged his advancement. He was chief secretary to Wolsey up to that great prelate's fall, his chief business being to translate the correspondence from Italy. Vannes was on the Continent in 1521, and at Calais, on 12th November, King Henry presented him, described as a clerk, to the rectory of Mottram, diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, vice William Day, who held the living from 1517. The value of the living was then about £32 annually. He held the rectory about fifteen years, resigning it at a time when he was made rector of Tredrinton, diocese of Worcester. Mottram Church was then a new erection, for Sir Edmund Shaa, the founder of the chapel at Woodhead, by his will, 1487, left money, says Lysons, towards its construction. It is not clear whether Vannes ever resided on the cure; if he did, to have been of real service he would have needed the gift of tongues. Church patronage was then much abused, and the best preferments were, as Fuller says, *Italienated.* Thomas Winter, dean of Wells, Wolsey's son by Joane Larke, held five prebends, one archdeaconry, a chancellorship, a provostship, and two rectories, including the rich living of Winwick, Lancashire. The promotions of Vannes were as numerous. His first employment by the State was as Latin secretary to the king. As Peter Vannoys he appeared in the regal train of Wolsey when that prelate visited Francis I. in 1527. His chief service to Henry was in 1528, when he was ambassador with Sir Francis Bryan to the pope over the divorce from Queen Catherine. One of the reports to the king from Bryan states that "Master Peter hath takyn great payne in searching the bokys for your causys, and yn copying out of the same. On my faythe he ys dylygent, and has good wyll to serve your Grace." The gay Anne Boleyn, who took an unseemly interest in these proceedings, sent cramp rings to the ambassadors 4th April, 1529, after they had been solemnly

blessed on Good Friday previous (26th March) by her lover, and so they were sent off bright with the royal blessing. The touching for the king's evil, which is mentioned in the Mottram registers, was another form of the same credulity. Cramp rings were believed to be good for epileptic fits. One of Henry's directions to the Roman embassy was to ply the pope first by fair means and then by foul; and in one of the last interviews Cardinal Mai saw the envoys leaving the Roman Court "very angry and bullying." Wolsey fell through the failure of the missions. A contemporary letter describes a secret visit by the king to Greenwich to see the fallen legate's vast effects; he took with him, we are told, *sa mye* (his darling), her mother, and a gentleman of the Privy Chamber. The latter is as likely to have been William Brereton, or his brother Urion, as Norris. Vannes seems to have forsaken his disgraced master. Now he had promotion to the rich prebend of Bedwyn, in Salisbury Cathedral, next to the deanery of that see; then to the rectory of Wheathampstead, co. Hereford; and then to other smaller prebends. When on a mission to the pope, at Marseilles, in 1533, where "dead men were more plentiful than quick capons," he obtained the long-coveted post of papal collector, by gift of Clement VII. and the favour of King Henry. Previous to this he had acted as sub-collector, which post, early in the century, had been in Polydore Virgil's hands. The official was a familiar figure in England, and was found in the *Visions of Piers Ploughman* and in the *Canterbury Tales.* Of the Pardoner it was said:

> His basket lay before him in his lap,
> Brim-full of pardons come from Rome all hot.

A dispensation for a marriage between a Legh of Adlington and a Savage, signed by John de Giglis, in whose family the collectorship long remained, is mentioned by Sir Peter Leycester, page 232; others signed by Vannes are in St. John's College, Cambridge. It afterwards transpired that Master Peter got the appointment by the payment of one

thousand crowns to the pope's nephew, Cardinal Rudolphi. Very soon afterward he witnessed the extinction of his office at the passing of the Annates Act, 1533-4, rendering it illegal to collect Peter's pence, &c., and Cromwell ordered him to give up his papers. The antiquary Leland knew Vannes, and mentions him amongst the famous men living in the reign of Henry. Edward VI. renewed the Latin secretaryship to Vannes in December, 1549, mentioning his former good and laudable service, and naming his stipend of forty marks. The following year he was despatched to Venice as English ambassador, and remained there six years. The Lucchese had introduced into Venice the culture of the silkworm, and the Republic, in consequence, always manifested a good feeling towards Lucca; and so Vannes was honoured by the Signory on his arrival. During his stay he won the esteem of all for his gravity, prudence, learning, and other eminent qualities, among which his unassuming mode of life is singled out. He was allowed to have licences to carry arms for twenty-five persons residing in his house. Morysine, the English ambassador to the emperor, at Halle, in the Tyrol, in 1552, with Roger Ascham, his tutor-secretary, envied the position of Peter, saying that the latter was thrice happy that served where he was made much of, "and is where great service may be done as the times shape. I wold he were as weary of being there as I am of being here, and that I might spend a year or two there!" In the facsimiles of *National MSS.* is an autograph letter addressed by Vannes to Queen Mary on her accession; it is couched in a tone of the highest adulation that naturally takes the language of the *issimusses* and *errimorums*. If it were sincere he had utterly forgotten the wrongs done to the queen's mother. He had no answer to this letter for a time, and his salary fell into such arrear that he was, he says, at the next door to go a-begging. From motives of economy he was recalled in 1556, when the doge and Council presented him with one thousand Venetian crowns, saying that Vannes was personally very

dear to them. The most pleasing of all his very numerous state-papers was the despatch in which he described to the queen the death of Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, 18th September, 1556, in which with the prudence of the ambassador we may also detect signs of the goodness of his heart and of his faithfulness as a priest. It is copied in a note in Mr. Froude's fifth volume—the only paper that historian has quoted in connection with Vannes. On the accession of Elizabeth, Vannes was allowed to retain some of his prebends, and he died in London or Westminster in 1563, leaving all his wealth to Benedict Hudson, *alias* Vannes.

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*Tuesday, April 14th,* 1885.

Meeting at the Chetham Library, Mr. Henry H. Howorth, F.S.A., in the chair.

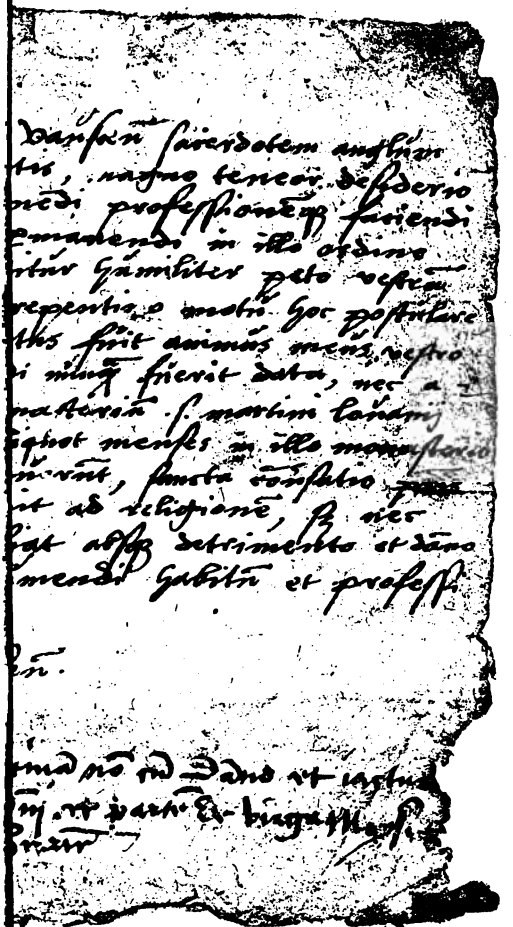
Mr. Ernest Chester Thomas, B.A., exhibited some of the MSS. of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, and gave an account of the MSS. now known to exist, numbering twenty-seven, of which eighteen are in this country. Only three of these MSS. are certainly of the fourteenth century, and the text in all of them is full of errors. The earliest printed texts were produced from individual MSS., and those not of early date. The first editor who professed to use several MSS. was Thomas James, the first Bodleian librarian, who, in his catalogue of the Oxford and Cambridge MSS., enumerates six MSS. of the *Philobiblon*, five of which can still be traced. One of these Mr. Thomas exhibited, and endeavoured to show that it was the MS. on which James had chiefly relied. None of these MSS. were of first-rate importance. Mr. Thomas also showed a Cologne MS. of the fifteenth century, which he believed could be conclusively shown to be the identical MS. used by the printers of the *editio princeps* which was printed at Cologne in 1473. The text of Mr. Thomas's proposed edition is based upon a collation of all the MSS. enumerated, and will be corrected

in this way in at least one thousand places. Mr. Thomas concluded by discussing the genuineness of a concluding paragraph found in several MSS. of the *Philobiblon*, but not in the printed texts, in which the bishop gives the date on which the book was finished as "xxiiii die Januarii, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo quarto," and of the note found in several of the MSS. assigning the authorship of the book to Robert Holkot, who was for some time the bishop's chaplain.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Thomas, after a brief discussion of his paper, in which Mr. W. E. A. Axon, the Rev. C. G. K. Gillespie, and the Rev. E. J. Russell joined.

Mr. J. E. Bailey read a paper on Laurence Vaux, warden of the Manchester Collegiate Church, and exhibited and described some documents relating to that celebrated person. He said that M. Ed. van Even, an antiquary of Louvain, in 1855, in passing along a street, noticed a baker tearing leaves from a MS. of the sixteenth century for the purpose of wrapping up tarts. M. Van Even purchased the volume, with other documents which came from the lumber room of a house formerly occupied by one of the members of the dissolved monastery of St. Martin. Amongst them were three documents of special interest—the letter in which Vaux requests to be admitted to the monastery of St. Martin, Vaux's will, and a document in which the Prior acknowledges to have received certain articles of plate from Vaux. This last is an inventory of the articles used in the celebration of divine service in the Church of Manchester, to which the plate was to be returned when the Catholic faith was restored. These documents had been purchased by the Society for presentation to Chetham's Library, and Mr. Bailey handed them to the chairman as one of the feoffees of the college.

Mr. H. H. Howorth, in accepting the documents for the library, expressed the pleasure of the feoffees in receiving such an addition to their relics of local worthies.



THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

The following new members were elected: Edmund Ashworth, J.P., Charles Schwabe, Richard Milne Redhead, J.P., Rev. Canon J. A. Atkinson, D.C.L., William Wiper, Joseph Baugh, James Kay, J. B. Robinson, F.R.M.S., William Johnson, William Carr.

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*Saturday, April 18th,* 1885.

THE LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE.

A meeting was held in the Lancashire Independent College. The members were received by the President (Rev. Professor Caleb Scott), the Chairman of the Committee (the Rev. A. Mackennal), and the Revs. Professor J. M. Hodgson, M.A., D.Sc., Alexander Thomson, D.D., E. L. Turner, M.A., and the Librarian and Secretary (Mr. Charles Goodyear).

After a lengthened inspection of the more noteworthy books that had been spread out, and of a large collection of antiquities got together by the various missionaries of the denomination, together with a fine collection of portraits of Independent and other worthies, the company strolled through the well-laid grounds, and enjoyed the pleasurable associations of a sunny afternoon in such a spot. Afterwards the company assembled in the new library, where the chair was taken by Mr. J. E. Bailey. Mr. Charles Goodyear gave an outline of the history of Congregationalism in Lancashire, and described a number of the book-rarities submitted for inspection. He attributed the building of Independent chapels in out-of-the-way places, far from houses, to the Five Mile Act (passed with the object of preventing the settlement of regular ministers), and showed how, in spite of the parliamentary enactments, the independent body had, from time to time, through their own academies, produced not only well-trained ministers, but some of the greatest exponents of biblical truth: instancing the private theological academies for dissenting ministers which especially

sprang up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Early in the present century a theological academy was promoted by Mr. R. Spear, a merchant of Manchester. This was followed by one in Leaf Square, Pendleton, and subsequently by the Blackburn Independent College, which gave way, in 1840, to the noble buildings of the Lancashire Independent College, Whalley Range, erected by public subscription. Mr. Goodyear next described the library. It contains ten thousand five hundred and eighty volumes. It is, as might be expected, chiefly theological in character, but other departments of literature are well represented, especially that of ecclesiastical history and biography. It contains a number of MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and many rare early-printed books, amongst which are specimens from the presses of Ulric Zell, of Cologne; Aldus Manutius, of Venice; the Stephens's, of Paris; the Elzevirs; Jehan Petit, and Plantin. These consist of early editions of the Classics, the Schoolmen, and the Fathers of the Church. There are copies of the Parisian, Antwerp, Walton's, Castell's, and other Polyglots, the codices Bezæ, Augiensis, Claromontanus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Sinaiticus. There are many rare editions of the Bible, including that of Ulric Zell, of about 1486, Olivya Rob. Stephanus of 1557, the Biblia Latina Tigurina, 1543, the splendidly-printed Biblia Hebraica, of Michaelis, the Kupfer Bibel, of Scheuchzer, two copies of the Dutch Staaten Bibel, the Tubingen edition of the German Bible of 1729, and many others; there is also a collection of Bibles or parts of the Bible translated into many tongues by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The library is also rich in the works of the Puritan divines, and contains a large number of tracts, pamphlets, and sermons of the Puritan period, many of local interest. Many of the most valuable books in the library have been presented by friends, the greater number by Alderman Joseph Thompson, a warm friend and supporter of the college. The sole regular fund on which the library depends for its maintenance and extension is the

interest on a sum of £1,100, bequeathed by the late Mr. Byron Noden.

The Rev. A. Mackennal, on behalf of the governing body, welcomed the Society. Professors Thomson, Hodgson, and Turner further described a number of the specialities of the library.

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*Saturday, May 16th*, 1885.

ROMAN ROAD IN DELAMERE FOREST.

A party of the members visited Delamere Forest, where the leader, Mr. Edward Kirk, had recently exposed a peculiar portion of the Roman road which ran from Chester to Northwich, &c. After leaving Delamere Station and going south about three-quarters of a mile, the Roman road was found in use as an occupation road, and as a way to the quarries of Edisbury. It was traced for a field's breadth on the east side of the highway, and then westwardly for nearly a mile to the large field belonging to Organs Dale farm, which lies north of the turnpike road. On their way the party mounted the site of Queen Ethelfleda's Castle of Edisbury, which was examined, as well as the defensive ditches which surrounded the enclosure of several acres. The day being bright the prospect was vast, and the advantage of such a commanding spot to Britons, Romans, and Saxons in succession became self-evident. Queen Ethelfleda's other castle of Halton was prominent to view, and the waters of Oakmere, with the black firs and young oaks of the large remnants of the old forest, gave variety to the landscape, which was only limited by the chain of hills on the borders of Shropshire, Derbyshire, East Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. The peculiar rocky way described in Mr. Kirk's paper, which was read before the Society on the 4th of December, was examined with keen interest and curiosity. Mr. Kirk in his search for the road experienced the same difficulty in tracing it which

several writers had previously encountered, partly owing to the confusion of the names "Roman Road" and "Watling Street," and partly from the sinuous old hollow way in many places sunk the depth of a man below the surface of the ground.

After tea at the Abbey Arms Hotel the party visited Oakmere, by whose pleasant shore a meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. J. Eglington Bailey, F.S.A.

Mr. Kirk said he was not prepared to read a paper as his investigations were not yet complete, but he hoped to be ready for an early meeting in the winter. He said that Mr. W. Thompson Watkin had visited the place with him, and they had together given a closer examination of the road than had been possible for the members that afternoon. Mr. Watkin fully concurred with his view that the remains were Roman.

Dr. H. Colley March said that what they had seen was highly interesting; the castle they knew had been held by the Saxons, and he thought it was clear also by the Celts, and he believed by the Romans as well. The other remains were clearly of high antiquity. The road was not, apparently, made for packhorses, but for wheeled vehicles. The ruts did not look as if made by Saxon wheels, which had broad tyres, but by narrow wheels shod with iron, with a gauge similar to the Roman gauge. The traffic had apparently been heavy, and had extended over a considerable period of time, and he was therefore disposed to refer it to Roman times for an explanation. With regard to the trough, he was not prepared to say that it was the same as that on Blackstone Edge, and the ruts he thought might possibly have been worn by heavy traffic, and not cut. It was premature, he said, to come to conclusions on some points.

The Rev. E. F. Letts thought much rested on conjecture. He could not understand why the Romans should make four or five angles within so short a space. Supposing this to have been a road two or three hundred years ago, he

asked, Would not the tumbrels be sufficient to form the ruts? With regard to the ridges, they seemed to him to be nothing more than natural formations, and different colours of soil might be found in the same field. He advised caution before coming to conclusions.

Mr. Kirk in reply said that differences of opinion were to be expected. None of them would question Mr. Watkin's ability in Roman matters. He had had a communication from Mr. Watkin that morning, in which he said, "Thinking over the Forest Road, I have gradually come to the conclusion, from its low position (for the short distance), that it was first a British trackway, afterwards adopted by the Romans. You can mention this to-morrow." The term "Watling Street" was applied to this road, as it was to many unquestioned Roman roads. With regard to the ridges, he observed that he had been brought up on the soil, he was still actively interested in it, and knowing much of the soils of Lancashire and Cheshire, he must say that what they had seen was contrary to all his experience in natural formation. He had lived many years in the neighbourhood of a Roman road called "Watling Street," and in his youth had often assisted to cut clear sections through it; and a person who had often ploughed over the ridges which they had that afternoon inspected described to him precisely what was to be found on a Roman road laid with gravel. Mr. Kirk concluded by proposing that the Society should communicate with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests (the remains being in lands belonging to the Crown) and ask permission to excavate the rocky way. They should also ask for the future protection of the road.

It was agreed to refer the matter to the Council.

The following new members were elected: W. Fitzherbert Brockholes, J.P., Very Rev. Mgr. Robt. Gradwell, Rev. J. Edwin Odgers, M.A., Mrs. H. Colley March.

## *Tuesday, May 19th,* 1885.

### VISIT TO REDDISH: NICO DITCH AND THE PEEL.

An evening meeting was held at Reddish. The members were met at the station by the Rev. Addison Crofton, M.A., who conducted them to Nico Ditch and read the following short paper: It is generally the fashion to attribute every ancient earthwork to the Romans, and the destruction of any castle or manor-house to the dismantling cannon of Cromwell, but Nico Ditch has never been connected, so far as we can learn, with either the one or the other. It is true that the Romans visited this neighbourhood in the time of Agricola, and in 79 A.D. had considerable power in the county, and stations at Stockport and Manchester, with a road connecting them of which traces are still left in the half mile of old road near Lamb's fold, extending from close by the Ash Bridge to the "George and Dragon" Inn. Tradition, however, is very uniform in attributing the formation of Nico Ditch, not to the occupation of the Romans, but to an attempted incursion of the Danes, against whom this earthwork was erected. The story says that in a single night this great length of ditch and rampart was completed, each man being bound to dig out so much of the ditch and to throw up so much of the rampart as was equivalent to his own height. The Danes certainly did invade this part of the country in 870 A.D., and, in spite of the resistance which was offered to their progress, they succeeded in gaining possession of Manigcestre, *i.e.* Manchester; it is, therefore, not unlikely that the popular tradition is correct, and that the Nico Ditch is a remnant of the spirited endeavour made by the inhabitants of the country to repel the invasion of the sea rovers. The attack, if all this be true, would be made from the south, and the construction of the ditch agrees with this, for the ditch itself is on the southern side, the mound on the northern, which would be the case with an earthwork thrown up to repel an attack from the south. The name, "Nico Ditch," has been the

subject of many conjectures, and it is almost impossible to decide what may have been the true origin of the term. The common derivation is from Nicka, Nickar, Nick, or Hnickar, a water spirit that seized and drowned unwary travellers. This, however, is not so likely to be the origin of the word as may at first sight appear, for "Nico" or "Niccar Ditch" was dug by the Saxons as a protection from the Danes, and therefore would probably receive a Saxon name, while Nickar is Danish. In Scandinavia almost every river and ford has its reputed Nickar, and when anyone is drowned it is commonly said "Nick has taken him." Grimm, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, says that "Hnickar or Nick is the name assumed by Odin when he takes upon himself the form of the destructive principle," and Dunbar, in the *Flytinge of Dunbar and Kennedye*, says that "Nicknever is a malignant witch or hag of Scottish superstition." Prof. Henry Morley also, in his *English Writers*, alludes to the destructive powers of the Danish Nickar, and conjectures that the word is akin to the Greek NIKE, the Latin Necare, and the Anglo-Saxon Nœcan, to kill, whence we also get "knock" and "knacker's yard." If this last be the meaning of Nickar, we can easily see why our ditch received its name, for it was the "*victory ditch*," or the "*slaughter of the enemy ditch*," so called in memory of the victory over the Danes and the slaughter of them by the Saxons. This is further borne out by the fact of the mounds, which lie a little to the south of the ditch, being called "Nickar Knolls," apparently the burial burrows of those who fell in the battle. Another derivation is from Nicker, the Anglo-Saxon word for "to scrape." Another is from the Anglo-Saxon "Nickan or Knickan, to notch or nick." These would make the name "Nico Ditch" signify the "scraped-out ditch," or the "nicked ditch." Again, there is the suggestion that it arose from "Neck" and "Hnegan, to bend" (Anglo-Saxon), and it means the "bent ditch;" but the objection to this is that the ditch is almost uniformly straight. In its entire length it extends

from Ashton Moss to Ouse Moss, but is every year becoming more difficult to trace. In connection with the tradition of a great battle having been fought here, somewhere between 870 and 920 A.D., it may be mentioned that there is a hill in Gorton still known as "Winning Hill," and pointed out as the spot where the battle turned in favour of the Saxons; and not far from the ditch there is a plot of land, called "Castle Field," of about one acre in extent, said to be the site of an ancient fortification. The frequent occurrence of the word "Dane" in the immediate neighbourhood is very likely to mislead, but it is not connected with the Danes at all, being merely a local mispronunciation of "Dene," *i.e.*, a wooded hollow. So also "Gorton" and "Reddish" have probably nothing to do with "Gore" or "Red ditches," but the former received its name from some "gaer" or "garth," or other "enclosure," and the latter either was called "Red-witch," from the redness of its soil and the colour of its springs, or "Reed-wich" from its swampy and reed-growing character.

The members then proceeded to the Peel or Peel Moat, where Mr. Crofton read the following notes: Peel Moat is all that remains of a square fortified tower which formerly stood in the fields between S. Thomas' Church and Mauldeth Hall. It lies somewhat away from any of the roads and is approached by the footpath which leaves the Manchester and Stockport Road at St. Thomas' Church. Trees have been planted both in and round the moat, and there is now no water, worth speaking of, left in it. When the old hedgebank, where the footpath now runs, was pulled down and altered some years ago, a silver tankard was discovered and was handed over to the owner of the property; it had very probably been hidden there in troublous times, and (the owner having been killed) had been lost and forgotten, like so many other relics of antiquity. Bricks also, some of a larger size than those in present use, or of different proportions, have been turned up at various times, and together with the tankard, lead

one to believe the popular tradition of the neighbourhood, that the "Peel" was a stronghold surrounded by a moat, into which the valuables of the neighbouring gentry were carried in the civil wars of Cromwell's time. It is also asserted that "Owd Oliver" sacked the place, and that the treasures were chiefly the property of the Roman Catholic gentry. That the "Peel" was a tower of strength, either for the safe storage of property, or for the protection of the surrounding population, is likely enough; the very name implies as much, for "Peel" is either from the Celtic word "Pill," a fortress, or from the Latinized "Pelum," a castle; and the term is not only applied to many other strongholds, as Peel Hall, near Tarvin, Peel in the Isle of Man, Pile of Fouldrey, &c., but the towers on the Scottish border, into which the freebooters took their spoils, are generally known as Peel Towers. Tradition says that Peele Tower (Cheshire) stood within a circular moat and was built as a defence against the incursions of the Welsh, and it is far from unlikely that our "Peel Moat" was constructed for a similar purpose. At one time The Peel was inhabited, for in the registers of the old church, Manchester, is found the entry of the burial of a person from "The Peel in Heaton Norris;" and Mr. Harland says the people of the neighbourhood have a tradition to that effect. But as a general rule the Peel Towers were not meant for ordinary habitations, nor are they adapted to the purpose, being nearly always of small size, and affording very limited accommodation; they were designed for cases of sudden emergency, in which some place of security for women, children, and household goods was highly necessary. If our "Peel" was used in this way, as a hiding place for the treasures of the Roman Catholic houses of the neighbourhood and as a retreat for the "Religieuse," it is not improbable that it fell before the destructive cannon of the commonwealth. If this were the case, the fact of the tankard, mentioned above, being found in the hedgebank outside the boundary and not in the enclosure may be accounted for by supposing

that one of the attacking party secured and concealed it, in order to prevent his companions seeing it, intending to return at some more convenient time to carry it away.

Mr. Crofton also read the following note on the Old Road from Stockport to Gorton. Pink Bank Lane or "old London-lane" runs from Lane End Farm to a little beyond Wyngate House, dividing the parishes of Heaton Chapel and Levenshulme from Reddish. It is part of an old pack-horse road, which formerly ran from Stockport to Gorton, and is marked on the Ordnance maps as "Paved lane." Within a few yards of its junction with Broadstone Road lies a strip of an old Roman way, about half a mile in length, still used as part of the "old road" from Stockport to Manchester. Pink Bank Lane disappears at Wyngate House and grassy fields ensue, but if the fields be crossed, a portion of the old road is found, which crosses the Nico ditch at right angles, and is still very clearly defined by ditch, bank, and old stunted oaks on either side. About two hundred yards or thereabouts may still be seen, detached, and enclosed at either end with posts and rails, which are fitted with stiles for foot passengers. It appears to have been originally laid with cobble-stones, and tradition tells of the pavement being visible not many years ago. It is said also that the original roadway may be seen under the turf in some of the adjoining fields on the Gorton side, though not a vestige of pavement remains in the part of the road which is still used.

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*Saturday, May 23rd*, 1885.

TURTON TOWER.

The members of the Society visited Turton Tower, near Bolton. On arrival the members assembled on the lawn, when Mr. J. C. Scholes, of Bolton, read a paper on the history of Turton Tower. He said that records relating to Turton Tower were not abundant. The earliest reference

was that which said "The whole of the township was given by William the Conqueror to a person named Orrell, as a reward for his services," and that "one of the family built the Tower, giving the workmen each a penny a day, yet the expense was so exorbitant as to cripple the Orrells, and they were never able to recover from its effects." That would read well as romance, but as genuine history Mr. Scholes doubted whether it would receive much credence. He had failed to discover any original note pointing to the settlement of the Orrells in the township earlier than the commencement of the fifteenth century. Camden said "the tower was erected for military defence," and another writer remarked that it was licensed for castellation; but whether it was ever the scene of strife was a matter of conjecture. From the base to the ridge immediately below the upper window of the tower proper was the most ancient portion of the building. It was almost unquestionable that the name of the township was derived from its manor house, *i.e.*, "Tower-town" or "Tur-ton." From time to time the mansion had been restored—notably in 1596 by John Orrell, when it was almost entirely rebuilt, the lath and plaster work probably being then introduced. In 1628 the tower and estates were purchased by Humphrey Chetham. The estates, &c., were now the property of James Kay, Esq. After observing that the tower had done duty as a farm-house and corn mill respectively, Mr. Scholes recounted some traditions about an old "coffer," which still finds a a place in one of the ancient rooms.

The Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A., then described some interesting features in the external construction of the building. The party afterwards viewed the interior. Ascending the tower, a beautiful view of the surrounding country was obtained.

The village church was the next place of meeting; and, after examining the bookcase, with its books chained to the shelves, which were presented by Humphrey Chetham, Mr. Scholes read a paper on the early history of the church.

He said the present church dated from 1841, though the foundation of the first chapel had been traced back to the year 1501. He quoted a certificate of the king's commission in Lancashire, 15 Henry VIII. (1523), which read: "There is a free chapel in Turton, in Bolton, in gift of Rauff Orrell, Esq., James Anderton, priest, is the incumbent." The living was then worth seven marks per annum, equal to £4. 13s. 4d. At the Commonwealth Survey in 1650 it was advised that the combined chapelries of Turton and Walmsley were "fit to bee made a parish, and to have theire boundaries and severall precincts allotted to them as formerly they have had." Four years later the chapel at Turton was rebuilt, and in 1779-80 it was again almost reconstructed. After James Anderton's ministration, Gilbert Astley was recorded incumbent in 1596; he died in January, 1625-6, and by his will bequeathed to "John Orrell my Mr. a French crowne," and ordered "that the poore have Xs divyded amongst them." Astley's successor was Richard Denton, B.A., and his, in turn, Mr. Boden, who, in 1632, was to receive vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$ by will of Andrew Knowles, of Entwisle, "hopinge hee will execute ye office of a minister att my buriall." Next came Michael Briscoe, who was "ousted by some of the chappelry that did not affect him." He was followed by James Livesey, "a painfull godly minister," who married a daughter of George Chetham, Esq., afterwards of the tower. Livesey removed to Chowbent about 1654, and afterwards became vicar of Great Budworth. The Revs. William Richardson, Henry Lawson, and William Sunderland each in turn filled the office, and on the death of the latter, in 1761, the Rev. Amos Ogden, curate of Bolton, and formerly of Blackburn, was the acknowledged minister of Turton. His son-in-law, Rev. James Spencer, succeeded in 1815, and the Rev. J. O. K. Spencer (son of the last named), in 1859, whose brother, the Rev. J. W. Spencer, M.A., now holds the office. Thus for one hundred and twenty-four years that living has been in the same family. Mr. Scholes then gave an inventory of

the chapel goods in 1552, and also spoke in high terms of the complete success of the late Mr. G. J. French's labours in restoring the Chetham library at Turton Church, which had fallen into a dilapidated condition.

The members then proceeded to the Chetham Arms for tea, after which a meeting was held, the Rev. E. F. Letts presiding.

Mr. John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A., communicated an interesting inventory, enumerating the rooms of the tower and their contents. He said that Humphrey Chetham, in 1628, acquired the Turton estate for £4,000, after a year's negotiations with the Orrells, one of the last of whom had impoverished the property. It had been for two hundred years in the possession of that family, which inherited it from the Torbocks. Chetham's purchase included the tower, the demesne, seven hundred acres of cultivated land, and perhaps five hundred acres more of waste land. There were nine hundred and sixty tenants, and the rental was £190 per annum, made up of rents and boons. The woods, consisting of plane and ash trees, were said to be worth £700. Chetham did not immediately take up his abode there, but permitted Alice Orrell, a Roman Catholic, the mother of the last Orrell of Turton, to remain in the house till her death. It is clear that he was there in 1631 and 1634, also at intervals from 1641 to 1648. His irregular resort is explained by his more settled and continuous residence at Clayton Hall, which was better furnished than Turton. An inventory of the contents of Turton Tower, taken in November, 1642, just before the Civil War, was of great value with respect to the building itself and to the taste displayed in its appointments. We may here inspect the articles with which a rich clothier and a country gentleman delighted to adorn his home. The entire contents were, with some degree of minuteness, appraised for Chetham for an unexplained purpose by William Entwistle, Raphe Brooke, George Travis, and Robert Jackson, at about £1,050. Of this total about £400 was the value of seventy-

four head of live stock—"stewars" or steers, kine, fat kine, stirks, and a few swine; with two hundred and forty wethers, tups, and ewes, of the value of £84. The "well-inned corn," curiously described as thirty acres, *i.e.*, obtained from that area of corn land, was worth £160, and the hay £40. The principal rooms of the mansion were the Further and the Nearer Highmost Chambers. These were the bedrooms in the tower proper, one of them being that now pointed out as Humphrey Chetham's room. Each chamber contained its stately "standing-bed" with the accompanying "truckle-bed" for the page or attendant; for, like Falstaff, Chetham had his "standing-bed" and his "truckle-bed." The latter during the day-time was wheeled under the former. The rooms were decked with curtains and valance and hangings and coverings; there were cupboards, stools, "cheares," and "steeled" or wainscoted chests. The stools throughout the tower were more in number than the chairs, lending point to the use of the former word by Shakspere, who makes Macbeth complain that "dead men's ghosts come back to push us from our stools." Six pairs of flaxen sheets were worth £6. The rest of the bed linen was equally rich and ample, as were the coverlets.

> No patch-work quilt all seams and scars,
> But velvet powdered with golden stars;
> And the pillow as white as the snow undimmed,
> And as cool as the pool which the breeze has skimmed—

was cased in the finest cambric, and trimmed with the costliest lace of Flanders. The chests containing the table-linen were kept in these "highmost" rooms; in them were damask and diaper napkins, damask table-cloths and cupboard-cloths, and pillow-bearers (or cases) at £3 per dozen. The Green Chamber, which was next in importance, was possibly furnished by the Orrells, out of compliment to the Tudors, in green and white, those being the colours of that royal house. Amongst the bed-linen in this and other smaller rooms were "cadows" (explained by Mr. Barlow and other Bolton gentlemen present to be the name for the

peculiar quilt-manufacture of the town, the term still living there in the "caddy" quilts and "caddy" sheets). All these rooms had fire-places, indicated by the "shooles" and tongs. The smaller bedrooms, including an "oven" chamber, were seven in number, and one of them was over the porch. The value of the property in all the bedrooms was £115. In the "dining chamber," which was furnished with a rough comfort, were hung the armour, muskets, and "dragoons," for the equipment of light horsemen and pikemen at the military musters—weapons soon to be used in real warfare. Two brass candlesticks adorned the walls of this room, and a clock worth £3. 6s. 8d. there told the time. The hall, like the dining chamber, was furnished with a fire-place, tables, stools, and chairs, and was much larger than the present hall. The other rooms were the closet, the buttery (opening from the dining-hall), the "deyhouse" (used for salting beef), the pantry and a room over it, the kitchen, larder, brewhouse, workhouse (containing the agricultural implements, with two turf spades and one stickling spade), garner-house, cart-house, and kiln. In the latter was "a winglasse and a cheere to point the topp of the tower with." In the stable chamber were stored the beans and malt, measured by "hoops;" there also were the hackney-saddles and pack-saddles used for the master's large traffic with Blackwell Hall, London. The wool-chamber contained sixty stones of sheep wool, worth £33. The pewter plates and other articles of that metal in the house, two hundred and twenty-seven pounds in weight, were valued at £11; the brass pots, eighty-five pounds, at £2. 10s. "Item in bookes £20." Three "kuds" of fustians, a cloth at that time worn by persons of the best quality, are set down at £2. 9s.; and there were small lots of new colour Spanish cloth, new grey Spanish cloth, black cloth, and new coarse "grogorams." Humphrey Chetham was an extensive importer of foreign goods into the Manchester market, including black serge from Flanders and black Turkey grograms. He was a man who himself liked to make a

brave show in the flesh. His rich gold-embroidered cap is well known from his portrait. When for the first time he was sheriff, he decked himself in gold lace, a suit of the best velvet, a lace collar, rosetted shoes, a handsome cloak, and an imposing hat and feather; and he was on that occasion accompanied by one hundred halbert men and others who wore his "cloth" or livery. Two costly pieces of his raiment occur at the end of this valuable inventory, viz., one beaver hat worth £3, and one cloak, lined with plush, valued at no less a sum than £15! Such were the surroundings of a Manchester merchant two centuries and a half ago.

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper in which he pointed out the numerous mistakes and omissions made by the various compilers of pedigrees of the Chetham family, particularly as to the mother of Humphrey Chetham, the founder, the number and names of his brothers and sisters, and the dates of his death and burial. Whatton states that Humphrey's mother was Kate, daughter of Richard Moore; Canon Raines gives her name as Jane, daughter of Robert Wroe, of Heaton; Booker, in his *History of Blackley*, has it as Ellen, daughter of Roger Wroe; while an authority in the Chetham Library calls her Margaret, daughter of Roger Wroe, of Heaton. The number of the founder's brothers and sisters are variously given as two, three, eight, nine, and ten. There was also a considerable range of differing authorities as to the death of Humphrey Chetham. In the manuscript in the Chetham Library the dates of death and burial had been corrected by a later hand in two entries, while in two other entries in the same book the date of burial was given as the date of death. In the sixth volume of the Record Society's books there are two dates of burial—27th July, 1635, and 11th October, 1653—and a third of his death, August, 1653. Whatton has 12th October, 1653, as that of the death. Booker states that he died 20th September, 1653, and was buried at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, 12th October following, and these are the only correct dates. As Humphrey Chetham was a great personage—high sheriff

twice, and collector of ship money, he would be buried at night. The remains would be brought from Clayton Hall, where he died, to the Collegiate Church on the evening of the 11th of October, and at the conclusion of the burial service the entry would be made in the register, 12th October, 1653.

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*Wednesday to Saturday, May 27th to 30th*, 1885.

VISIT TO ULVERSTON AND DISTRICT.

*Local Committee:*

Rev. L. R. Ayre, M.A., R.D.
Rev. C. W. Bardsley, M.A.
Rev. R. B. Billinge.
H. Cook.
J. Coward.
John Fell, J.P., D.L., Mayor of Barrow.
Rev. Canon Hayman, D.D.
J. Hodgson.
William Pitt Miller.
Rev. F. G. McNally, M.A.
E. G. Paley, F.R.J.B.A.
Sir James Ramsden.
Col. Ridehalgh, J.P.
H. F. Rigge, J.P.
William O. Roper.
E. G. Tosh.
E. Wadham, C.E., J.P.

*Hon. Sec.:* Rev. C. W. Bardsley, M.A.

About fifty of the members of the Society spent a three days' excursion in Whit Week, visiting the places of archæological and antiquarian interest in the Furness and Cartmel districts. A most interesting programme had been drawn out by the local committee. The party had their head quarters at the County Hotel, Ulverston. On Thursday they proceeded by train to Barrow, where a steam tug was placed at their disposal by Sir James Ramsden, who accompanied the party to convey them to Piel Castle. On arriving at Piel the party were conveyed to the landing pier by a steam launch. Considerable time was spent in examining the ruins of Piel Castle. Mr. John Fell, mayor of Barrow, read the following paper:—

CASTLE OF PIEL.

Neither local history nor tradition have allowed much of the story of this castle to survive. Mr. West, in his *History of the Antiquities of Furness*, 1774, contents himself with saying: "The strong castle of the pile of Foudrey stands

in the southern extremity of the island (Walney), and is also insulated at high water" (p. 19). He makes a note on the word "Foudrey," and explains it as "Fouldrey, the island of fowls." Mr. Beck, who published his *Annales Furnesiansis* in 1844, has extracted from documents a few particulars about the castle of Piel. He alludes first to this fortress after describing the devastation caused by an invasion of the Scots led by Bruce himself, and says: "Two miles from the south point of Furness lies an isle called Futher or Fudder, at some remote period, perhaps, the abode of the Saxon or even Keltic proprietors of the same name, fortified by a natural moat of sea water, and possessed of an excellent harbour from which embarkation might be effected in their own vessels should all other defences prove unavailable. Upon its highest point they erected or repaired a strong and, for their means, an extensive castle, now commonly known by the pleonastic term Piel Castle; but at what time it was completed it would be fruitless to inquire. Camden tells us that it was built in the first year of the reign of Edward III., though producing no authority for his assertion" (p. 255). Competent persons who have carefully examined and compared the architecture of Furness Abbey, with its mouldings, plinths, and sandstone enrichments, and those of the castle of Piel, assign to the latter structure an early date in the fourteenth century, probably about 1327. There seems, however, to be some doubt as to whether the present building was the original castle. If it were not so, its predecessor has left behind but small evidences of its existence, and I am not aware that they are traceable. At the same time Mr. Beck quotes at length a writ of the fifth year of the reign of Henry IV., from which it appears "that this Peel had been seised into the royal hands, but the king, considering the reasons for this procedure to be insufficient, directed Laurens, the escheator, to return it into the possession of the monks" (p. 281). Mr. Beck gives this writ in the original at length. The following portion of it is especially interesting in connection

with our subject:—*Quod Stephanus nuper Rex Angliæ dedit et concessit Abbati at Convantui Monasterii beatæ Marie de F., certa terras et tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinenciis in quadam insula vocata Wagenay in F. sub conditione ad faciendum, sustentandum, reparandum, et custodiendum ibidam quoddam castellum vocatum le Pele de Fotheray.* Although the terms of this writ involve the idea of an existing fortified structure, it is not absolutely conclusive that the condition of Stephen's grant as to the castle was not open to some future fulfilment, and that it was indeed complied with by the erection of the present castle in the early part of the fourteenth century. I am not aware of any record of any use in a military sense to which the fortified and strong position of Piel was ever applied. Lambert Simnel, the supposed Plantagenet, landed in the harbour of Piel in 1487. Beck remarks: "What part the Furness monks espoused in this rivalry of the wars may be surmised from this unopposed landing" (p. 298). The monks, however, do not seem to have neglected the power which their castle, commanding the harbour, gave them for trading purposes. Beck, quoting the *Rolls of Parliament* (vol. iv., p. 251) as his authority, remarks: "From the Abbot having first set the example of loading a vessel (of two hundred tons burden) with wool in Piel harbour, it became afterwards a place of great resort for those who sought to evade payment of the royal duties, as he had done from the period of his elevation to that dignity" (pp. 293 and 294). Finally, in the reign of Henry VIII., among the accusations against the abbot is the information of one William Tunstalle. "Memorand that the Abbot of Furnace haythe desayved the kynge's grace of the last subsydye." "Item the said Abbot doythe take opon hym to have a free port in Furnace, and ther by desayveth the kynge's grace of hys custome and takythe pryse wyne and ankerege, and also of every shipp with corne a sertin by formast and a sertin by aftermast and so of alle other ware, that cumythe by shipp, whyche ye yerely worthe fyve markes by yere, and thus he

hayth used xxxiij yeres" (p. 311). So much for the odd fragments of particulars which are cited by learned authors of the story of this remarkable place. I will now in very brief outline explain the site, and give the particulars of the castle, which were so carefully prepared by Major Harrison, C.E., aided by Mr. John Harrison as his architectural coadjutor. Probably the first entrance was on the side of the New Inn, and I will suppose the reader standing on that flank and outside the farthest ditch, which is twenty feet deep and thirty feet wide at the top. At first sight it would appear that this ditch was as usual intended to offer a water barrier outside the walls. This can hardly be so if the formation of the ground outside has undergone no change, because the level at the north-east tower is so much the highest that before it was submerged the north-west angle of the moat must have been overflowing. And yet there have been found both in this and the inner ditch, as well as in a garden just outside the western wall, clear indications of clay puddle laid so as to show that water in considerable quantities was stored, and this could hardly have been for any other purpose. Looking, however, at the ease with which at each end the ditch could have been drained to the sea by besiegers, I am forced to express my belief that, if a wet ditch at all, it must have only been at the north-western tower, and tailed out a short distance either way. The outer entrance has entirely disappeared. In the position where it might have been on the north wall are some apparent traces of an inside footing, which might be worth following up, but I must confess to a difficulty in the entire absence of the bridge or causeway over the moat. The north-east tower has lost its sea side; it is fourteen feet square, and of two storeys, with a wooden floor; and this description will apply nearly to all the outside towers. It has a singular projection into the courtyard, hard by a buttress which I cannot explain. Close adjoining, notice what was undoubtedly the chapel, in which there is an opportunity, through recent excavations, of observing the

foundations of the altar and its two steps, together with the bottom of a quatre-foil window, some window tracery, and (which through the kind courtesy of Mr. Wadham I am enabled to show) some small portions of glass and lead from the south window. The drain from the water, after cleaning the holy vessels, is seen beneath. The chapel is about thirty-four feet by fifteen feet, and could not have held more than half the garrison at one time. At the extreme eastern corner of the chapel notice a buttress bottom, where, in sandstone quoins, you will see the fillet appearing under the plinth, as contrasted with the underneath feather-edge finish of the adjoining string-course of the wall, showing a different and probably much more recent style; and, again, the quantities of shells in the mortar, as compared with the very slight admixture in the old part. I am in doubt again about a buttress at the same point, with its top finish quite distinct, and which must inevitably have blocked up a loophole in the second storey. Journeying now west, along the wall, you will see that the ascent to the battlements was by a narrow flight of steps let into the wall. The upper floor of the turret was reached from the rampart level, and again another stair led to the roof protected by a slight parapet wall. This and most of the ramparts are curved, some outwards and some inwards. The north-western tower seems to have been built by itself; headstones have been left to tie in with the line of the walls afterwards, and these ties not having sufficiently broken joint, and the mortar having set before the adjoining wall was built, the new never adhered, and easily broke off. Each tower is apparently open on the upper floor to one of the ramparts. These walls are about eight feet thick, and in addition to the raised battlements, which may have been pierced for firing or not, afforded ample space for the beat of the sentries. The sandstone copings, which doubtless surmounted the walls, have probably helped to build farm-houses in the neighbourhood, as they would be easily dislodged, for we find they were missiles to fling on the

head of besiegers who ventured too close to the walls. The wall connecting the two western towers has disappeared. The south-western tower is similar to the others. On leaving it, is seen the last piece of the outer fortifications. It leaves the tower diagonally, and points in the direction of the corresponding tower on the inner line; this clearly proves the little alteration since in the foreshore here, and the connection between the two lines of defence there. Crossing the court we reach the second causeway, the moat, and barbican. On entering, the socket is visible at the bottom on the right of the doorway, into which was set a shoe to receive the pin of the beam on which swung the drawbridge. The chains from its out-end passed through two of the pulley holes looking out of the second storey. Just inside is the groove in which the grating or portcullis worked, its usual position just showing its teeth on a level with the springing of the doorway. The southern tower was about ten feet by twenty feet, and reduced in thickness in the upper storey; the return tower is an irregular pentagonal, and its lower floor has no light. It was probably used as a place of temporary confinement; and, last, the eastern tower, on the extreme verge of the cliffs, shows how curiously the builders of this time contrived small passages. This terminates our tour of the outer fortifications. Foes would first have to force the outer, then the inner barbican, and would then find themselves in front of the donjon or keep. The entrance, or forebuilding, looks north, and that of the barbican west. There is an outer portcullis, then a chamber and a second portcullis within, passing under which you have above one of the few instances of vaulting in the whole castle; it is resorted to in two floors to carry the great thickness of the wall. You are now undoubtedly in the guard chamber on the middle storey of the building. Had the block been entire you would have had a room beneath and one above, also three rooms on each side. That immediately underneath the guardroom would appear to have been reached by a staircase which has disappeared,

and was probably a prison and an arm store. I am doubtful how to distribute the other rooms. Naturally we look to the staircases, and find the main one ascends from the left of the entrance within the guardroom. It is seven feet wide, and, ere ruthless hands had robbed it of its windows, was very handsome. This commanded the top floor and also the battlements, and a passage ran in the thickness of the wall to the room above the entrance chamber, from which a narrow stair again conducted to the leads of this part. Notice in this passage the contrivance for giving light to the west of the entrance. The second staircase is out of the west chamber to the third storey, missing the second, and again there is a small one from the third storey to the ramparts. There is a fireplace in each floor of the west block or wing. I conjecture that the ground floor of this west part was the governor's stores and cellars; the second floor devoted to himself and any guests of his own grade; the first floor to soldiers; and the basement to the left is, of course, now impossible to describe. On this theory, the soldiers on guard would observe every one entering. They could mount to the room over the porch or its leads, and to the main battlements. The governor, on entering or leaving his apartments by the grand staircase, would be self-contained. He was provided with a private stair to the lookout, and, as before mentioned, to the basement, but only one part of it. I have tried to appropriate first one side and then the top floor to the men, keeping the governor below; but, on examining the doors from one block to the other and the stairs, I find difficulties in every way except on the theory suggested. The three basements—for I speak of the fallen one as if perfect—have occupied an area of seventy-six feet by eighty feet, and the total height has been forty-five feet. There were two centre and four corner turrets, beautifully vaulted, or corbelled out from the wall. The slits in the wall of the basement are so slight that they could have only served for ventilation, not light. The windows of the chambers above have been handsome, with

a centre mullion and a quatre-foil above; they are all as nearly as possible alike, and remains of the tracery appear still. In the deep recesses have been seats. The whole of the floors have been of board and the roofs of lead. A curious flue may be seen from the fireplace in the basement of the western block, and two latrines. Observe the sandstone landing to the staircase leading from the third floor to the battlements. It is repeated several times in the building. For narrow walls the round cobbles did not permit sufficient strength, and squared ashlar was substituted. If you ascend by the ladder to the creeke turret, you will be repaid by the careful work visible in the dressing of the sandstone by the only piece of the battlements remaining, and be enabled to form a very good idea of the effects of the turrets. At the extreme south-east of the keep will be noticed a basement wall eleven feet thick, in which at the level of the second floor is constructed a narrow chamber which was evidently reached through the room which has succumbed to the waves. Above is a splendid instance of good corbelling-out to increase the size of the rooms above. The floors here do not correspond in level with those of the main part of the building. To the second, a few steps must have let down from the governor's floor, and access to the third is by his staircase. I should be inclined to call the lower the state prison, the small one above the private chapel, and the upper, which has been luxuriously lighted, either a guest room or a ladies' chamber. Outside the building are noble buttresses, enriched with sandstone lavishly, and, could we replace the robbed quoins, the torn-down parapets and turrets, and, more important still, reproduce the delicate tracery of the windows, the castle would have been massively grand. It only remains to notice the fallen portion. West's second edition contains a woodcut with this standing. W. Gelderd, who kept the Walney Lighthouse ten years before the battle of Waterloo, used to describe it, and I believe it fell in 1820. One block weighs one hundred and fifty tons, and is a proof

that we, with all our skill, cannot rival the building art of the fourteenth century. I may say that at the Restoration this castle, with manors, was given to the Duke of Albemarle by Charles II.; through him it has passed by descent to the Duke of Buccleuch. Piel Castle now stands upon an island, separated practically from the large Island of Walney by water only during the flow and ebb of the tide for some hours each day. The mainland is distant about two miles, and the Island of Roa, which the railway now connects with it, is divided from Piel by a deep channel of five to seven fathoms in depth. Between the mainland and Walney there were two channels, if an attempt had been made to cross at any point nearer Piel than Northscale. One, the Barrow Channel, is now closed for the construction of docks, and by the other, called the Walney Channel, the shipping finds its way to the entrance to them. Both of these channels might be fordable at low water, but the approach of any hostile force would have been very discernible from Piel Castle, and I think it is probable that the attempt to attack by crossing these channels would be impracticable. The extraordinary growth of beach at the southern end of Walney Island, and the fact that there exists no severance of deep water between Piel and Walney, has led to the belief that the castle was originally built on the Island of Walney, and that the present disruption is due to comparatively recent inroads of the sea. Mr. West actually says "that the castle stands on the southern extremity of the Island of Walney." Looking to all the other circumstances, the deep water channel on the mainland side, and the difficulty of passing the old Barrow and Walney Channels at a fordable point, it would seem only natural that to build a castle on the southern end of Walney was for defensive purposes the best site; and I am inclined to think that the theory of Piel Castle having been originally built upon Walney is correct, commanding as it would do not only the natural harbour, which is on two sides of it, but also the sea view and sea approaches.

The party afterwards partook of luncheon, provided by Sir James Ramsden, at the hotel on the island. They were then conveyed to Roa Island, where conveyances were in waiting to take them to Gleaston, Aldingham, Urswick, and back to Ulverston.

On arriving at Gleaston Castle, the following paper, by Mr. W. O. Roper, was read :—

## GLEASTON CASTLE.

A castle without a history: a ruin without a tradition. Such might be the description of Gleaston. Doubtless it has its own history, with its darker and lighter pages; probably the events which have occurred in it would furnish matter for many a tradition, romantic and tragic, of love and of hate. But at present its history and its traditions, like its possessors, are gone, and the name of the great family who built it is now almost unknown in the peninsula in which it stands. In the Domesday Survey, Gleaston appears under the name Glassertun as part of the Saxon manor of Hougun, and containing two carucates of land. No exact date can be assigned to the erection of the castle, but the Harringtons have always been said to be its founders. The style of architecture points to the fourteenth century, and possibly it may have been enlarged or repaired during the lordship of William de Harrington in the reigns of Henry V. or Henry VI. A deed executed in the early part of the fifteenth century, and now preserved in the Duchy muniments, records the grant from Robert, Abbot of St. Mary, and the Convent of Furness to William Harrington, lord of Aldingham, and Margaret his wife, of a way to and from the castle of Gleaston and their manor of Aldingham over the abbot's land up to Barray on foot and with all manner of carriages and horses. Such is the sole record of any interest connected with the castle of Gleaston, and as the date of its erection is uncertain, so also is the date of its destruction. As a castle, its life appears to have been comparatively short, for early in the sixteenth

century it had fallen to decay. Leland, writing in the time of Henry VIII., mentions that "there is a ruine and waulles of a castell in Lancastershyre, callyd Gleston Castell, sometymes longynge to Lorde Harrington, now to the Marquise of Dorset." And, later, Camden writes: "Within the manor of Aldingham is Gleaston Castle, which has been very large and firm, having four strong towers of a great height, besides many other buildings with very thick walles. Gleaston is seated in a fertile vale, amongst rich meadows, and sheltered from the sea by fruitful hills, all of which render it one of the most pleasant seats in the country." The enclosure of the castle is about two hundred and eighty-eight feet in length, about one hundred and seventy feet wide at the north end, and about one hundred and thirty at the south end. The towers at the north-west and the south-west corners are very similar. In the lower storeys the windows are acutely-pointed single lights, very narrow outside, but widely splayed within. The windows of the upper storeys are also single lights, cut with trefoil headings. The largest tower stood at the north-east corner of the enclosure—its length being about eighty-two feet, breadth twenty feet, and probable height about sixty. The foundations of a similar tower at the south-east corner can still be traced. The boundary wall on the north-west side is almost complete, but the moat has disappeared. The walls, in many places nine feet thick, are only roughly built, and the mortar used is of a poor description. The ivy, which throws its protecting arms over the crumbling towers, makes the castle of Gleaston one of the most picturesque ruins in the district.

Like romance in stone—
Still to the present doth it preach the past,
With more than language! There the moral sigh,
O'er the gone splendours of heroic times,
May well be heaved, when chivalry prevailed,
And knightly bosoms with heroic pulse
Were beating nobly as became the brave.

Moat Hill was the next place visited, when the following paper was read by the Rev. L. R. Ayre:—

## MOAT HILL.

This is a curious earthwork known by the name of the Moat Hill. It stands in a field adjoining the Moat Farm. It consists of an artificial hill of considerable height, being about ninety-six feet above the sea level, and must have originally resembled the frustrum of a cone, but is now of an irregular shape owing to the action of the tide on the side facing the sea. It is surrounded by a deep trench, twenty feet wide, from which most of the material used in its construction has been derived. About one hundred feet from this is a long and deep ditch, erroneously called a fish pond. Its object is uncertain, but it has been thought by some persons that the ditch was commenced with the intention of surrounding the mount, but that it was left incomplete in this respect. Further below this, behind the farm buildings, is another enclosed plot, nearly square in form, also surrounded by a ditch. It has been conjectured, though not, it would seem, on very substantial grounds, that the ancient residence of the Flemings, lords of Aldingham, stood on this enclosure before the erection of Gleaston Castle. If such were the case, it must clearly have been a mansion of very limited proportions. Others, with greater probability, have thought that it was a tumulus similar in character to the Moat Hill, but of much less extent. As to the purpose for which this mound was raised, opinions have differed, but there seems now to be no doubt but that it is a fine specimen of an ancient Anglo-Saxon barrow or burial ground, raised, as was customary, over the remains of some distinguished war chief. The fact of its being a place of burial was proved to be the case by an investigation which was made some years ago under the direction of the late Colonel Bradyll, of Conishead Priory. A small shaft was sunk down the centre of the hill from the top, and portions of human bones were discovered. These were replaced

and the opening filled up. Mr. Close, in his edition of West's *Antiquities of Furness*, records the discovery of three cinerary urns in this immediate neighbourhood, which unfortunately were destroyed before they had been seen by any antiquary. They are described as being extremely thick, and formed of very friable materials, of a short cylindrical form, about one foot in diameter, and filled with calcined bones. The name of "Moat" Hill is thought to its having been a Saxon place of assembly, which the word *mote* signifies.

The party afterwards proceeded to Aldingham Church, where another paper was read by the Rev. L. R. Ayre.

## ALDINGHAM CHURCH.

The church of Aldingham is an ancient structure, dedicated to St. Cuthbert. It stands now close to the sea shore, but tradition states that it originally stood in the centre of the parish, and that by the encroachment of the sea four villages which once existed have entirely disappeared. There is, however, no documentary evidence confirming this tradition, and it is very doubtful whether such was in reality the case. The foundation of the church is attributed to the first Michael le Fleming, who led the Flemish auxiliaries at the battle of Hastings, and who, in return for the assistance thus rendered, received from the Conqueror extensive grants of land, comprising the manor of Aldingham and other portions of Furness. This grant, however, must have been made subsequent to the compilation of *Domesday Book*, as Fleming is not mentioned in that register as the possessor of any land in Furness, Aldingham being then the property of a Saxon named Ernulph. Possibly the church was built upon the site of an older structure of Saxon origin. However, the first known mention of it occurs in the year 1180, in a document in which William, son of the first Michael le Fleming, acknowledges the receipt of certain exchanged lands from Jocelin de Pennington, eighth Abbot of Furness. One of the witnesses

to this document is Daniel, parson of Aldingham, and William le Fleming's brother. The church is built of the district limestone, rough cast with lime and gravel, the quoins and dressings being partly of red permian sandstone and partly of millstone grit. The architecture exhibits a series of transitions from the Norman through the Early English and Perpendicular styles to recent times, some of the latest work not being by any means consistent with our present ideas of architectural propriety. The tower, supported by buttresses, is a massive structure belonging to the Tudor period, and a depressed Gothic arch in the base forms the western entrance to the building, the principal window and the belfry lights being appropriately designed. Lying inside the church are some loose sepulchral stones, which were removed to their present situation during some alterations made several years ago in the church, where they had been made to serve as window-sills. On one of them is carved an incised floriated cross, and the following inscription only just legible:—*Hic jacet Goditha de Scales.* This Goditha was probably the daughter of one of the early le Flemings, and the stone dates, it is believed, from the latter part of the twelfth century. There has been a cross surmounting the eastern gable of the chancel, but the pedestal is all that at present remains of it. A priest's doorway on the south side affords admission to the chancel, through a trefoil-headed opening, under a pointed arch, slightly ornamented with dog-tooth moulding. Several sepulchral slabs of early date may be seen under the walls of the chancel next this door. The chancel is lighted by four windows—the eastern one being in the Early English style; on the south a two-light lancet window of heavy masonry, with a transome across the lower part, and a curious square-headed one, divided by cylindrical shafts having capitals and bases; and on the north a perpendicular window with massive square mullions, in which there still exists a piece of old stained glass representing the arms of the Harringtons. There is a piscina in the south wall, the

outline of which, and of the adjoining window, is interfered with by a thick coat of cement. Some monumental brasses have been removed from slabs on the floor; the oldest one now remaining refers to a former rector, Thomas Shawe, who died in 1667. The chancel arch, obtusely pointed, built probably in the reign of Henry VII., springs from brackets rudely carved with grotesque heads; and through the south side of it is an oblique opening, the object of which was to enable the worshippers to witness the elevation of the host in pre-Reformation times. The nave is separated from the aisles by piers and arches. The arches on the north are modern pointed Gothic, while those on the south are plain semi-circular, supported alternately by massive octagonal and cylindrical columns, the western one having a rudely-chiselled capital. The tower arch is perpendicular, and pierces the ceiling of the nave. There is an antique font of red sandstone, supported on a pedestal and four light columns. In the churchyard there is an old sundial, dated 1753, on which is engraved the following appropriate inscription—a line in each corner of the dial plate—

Use the present time,
Redeem the past;
For thus certainly, tho' imperceptibly,
The night of life approaches.
JOHANNES WILLIAMSON.

The next place to which the party proceeded was Urswick Church, where some time was spent in inspecting this interesting edifice, which was described by the vicar, the Rev. R. B. Billinge.

The programme for the day's proceedings included a visit to the Druids' Temple, on Birkrigg, but this had to be reluctantly given up. The Rev. L. R. Ayre had prepared the following account of it:—

## DRUIDS' TEMPLE.

From Birkrigg Common we have a singularly fine and extensive view of Furness and the surrounding coast. Not

merely is the whole circuit of Morecambe Bay visible, but also the coast of Lancashire, and that of Wales beyond, stretching out into the Irish Sea. The Isle of Man is also visible. On the land side, the heath-covered dome of Black Comb is conspicuous in the west; and, stretching eastward, Scawfell Pike, Coniston Old Man, Helvellyn, Fairfield, Ill Bell, and a long range of mountains, quite round to Ingleborough. On and near this common are several stone enclosures, which date from pre-historic times. This is one of them. It is usually designated a Druidical temple, but it is very doubtful whether such a designation is correct; more probably it was a place of interment. The circle is about twenty-four feet in diameter, and is surrounded by ten unhewn stones, each about three feet high, placed upright in the ground. There is also some appearance of an outer circle. Other pre-historic remains there are at no great distance. One of these is in the parish of Urswick, known by the name of the Stone Walls. The Stone Walls consist of two enclosures, one angular and the other circular. The latter has been surrounded by a wall three hundred and twenty feet in circumference, and is divided into several compartments by curved walls. It is of about the same circumference as Mayburgh, a pre-historic relic near Penrith. The object of the Stone Walls is uncertain, but many are of opinion that it was a British encampment.

On Friday the members of the Society visited Cartmel and the Lake district. The party left Ulverston by rail for Cark at 9-21 a.m., and on arriving there were conveyed in carriages to Cark Hall, a divergence being made by way of Holker to enable the members to have a view of Holker Hall, the Lancashire seat of the Duke of Devonshire.

## CARK HALL.

On arriving at Cark Hall, Mr. H. Fletcher Rigge, J.P., D.L., read an interesting paper on the place. He stated that the hall belonged to him by hereditary descent from at least

the time of Queen Elizabeth. At that time it belonged to and was dwelt in by Thomas Pickering, whose family had probably lived there for several generations, for in an old family record, written by the wife of Robert Rawlinson, his daughter Ann, the wife of Robert Curwen, is described as the last of the Pickerings of Carke. By the register in Cartmel Church, Thomas Pickering and Agnes his wife were married in 1571, and their daughter Anne was baptized in 1583. In 1602 Anne Pickering was married at Cartmel Church to Robert Curwen, of Myreside Hall, near Flookburgh, and soon after, by a deed of settlement, in his (Mr. Rigge's) possession, Thomas Pickering settled Cark Hall and his other landed property on his son-in-law, Robert Curwen, who was the only son of William Curwen, of Myreside Hall, a younger brother of the Curwens, of Workington Hall, in Cumberland. Robert Curwen was cupbearer to Queen Elizabeth, and by a well-preserved deed in his (Mr. Rigge's) possession, sealed with the three large Royal seals, that of England, the Duchy seal of Lancaster, and the seal of the County Palatine of Lancaster, she freed his estate of Myreside Hall from payment of fee farm rent, and made it freehold to him. Thomas Pickering died in 1616, and then Robert Curwen took up his residence in Cark Hall. He might mention that he (Mr. Rigge) had for the last forty years slept in the old oak bedstead of Robert and Ann Curwen, which bore the date 1610. As they had no children, he left his estates to his nephew, Robert Rawlinson, son of his sister, Margaret Curwen, who had married William Rawlinson, of Greenhead, in the Furness Fells, the head of a very old family living there in the time of Henry VII., and which estate was still in his (Mr. Rigge's) family. Robert Rawlinson, born in 1610, was a barrister-at-law, at Gray's Inn, and a justice of the peace of the counties of Lancaster and Chester. During the troubled times of Charles I.'s reign he suffered much for his loyalty, being fined by the Roundheads in the large sum of £8,046. After the restoration of Charles II. he was made

Vice-Chancellor of the City and County of Chester. While he lived at Cark Hall, in 1663, George Fox, the Quaker, was brought before him as a justice of the peace, and was committed by him for contumacy to Lancaster Castle, and afterwards imprisoned for two years. Robert Rawlinson married a daughter of Thomas Wilson, of Heversham Hall, ancestor of the present family of Dallam Tower, and died in 1665, aged fifty-five. He and his wife were buried in the same grave in the south transept of Cartmel Church. He was succeeded by his son, Curwen Rawlinson, who married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Nicholas Monk, Bishop of Hereford, brother of General Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, and he must have made the addition to the south side of the hall, for a coat of Rawlinson impaling Monk was over a since walled-up doorway in this addition. He died at Warwick in 1689, aged forty-eight, being at the time M.P. for Lancaster; his wife died in 1691, aged forty-three, and was buried with the others of the family in the south transept of Cartmel Church. He was succeeded by his son, Christopher Rawlinson—the last of the Rawlinsons of Cark Hall—a man distinguished for his knowledge of Saxon and Northern literature, and a skilled antiquary. As he died unmarried and left no will, the hall and its estate then devolved to his heirs-at-law, descendants of daughters of Robert Rawlinson, his grandfather; through these, being now the fifth of his (Mr. Rigge's) name in the line, he (Mr. Rigge) inherited the old hall. It had never been used as a gentleman's residence since Christopher Rawlinson died in 1733, aged fifty-five, just one hundred and fifty-two years ago, but had been kept unaltered in its present state as a farmhouse. Therefore it was an excellent specimen of a country gentleman's house of the times from Charles II. to Queen Anne, and it was now the most perfect of the several other old halls in the district, retaining as it did its old mullioned windows and other ancient features. The party were then shown over the house, and were evidently much interested with all they saw.

## CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH.

The party next proceeded to Cartmel Priory Church, the architectural characteristics of which was described in a lucid and interesting manner by Mr. H. F. Rigge. The Priory was founded in 1188, by William Mareschal, Baron of Cartmel and afterwards Earl of Pembroke, who endowed it with all the lands, &c., in the district of Cartmel, and ordered that it should never be made an abbey. At the time of the dissolution of monasteries, in 1537, the church was unroofed and otherwise partly dismantled, and eighty-three years afterwards it was roofed and otherwise greatly restored by George Preston, Esq., of Holker. Between 1830 and 1870 £6,918 had been spent in further restoring the edifice. Referring to the peculiar character of the tower, which is in the form of a square within a square, Mr. Rigge observed that there was nothing like it in the kingdom. The fine window at the east end attracted much attention. Mr. Rigge explained that it was a fine example of the perpendicular style, and was inserted during the fifteenth century in place of the original lancet windows. The east window is forty-five feet high by twenty-four feet in breadth; the east window in Furness Abbey is forty-seven feet by twenty-three feet, and the one at Carlisle Cathedral forty-eight feet by twenty-six feet. Mr. Rigge further remarked that they had in the church every specimen of architecture since the twelfth century, including the Gothic of the nineteenth century, as illustrated by the lectern and the font. Much curiosity was evinced in the old parish register, in which the oldest entry bears date 3rd January, 1559.

## HAMPSFIELD.

The party next visited Hampsfield Hall, respecting which Mr. Rigge read the following statement:—Hampsfield Hall, in the parish of Cartmel, was built by William Thornburgh in the place of an older house and Peel Tower, which were situated about sixty yards higher up the hill, where their foundations can still be seen. It was sold by William

Thornburgh to Robert Curwen, of Cark Hall, and Robert Rawlinson, his nephew and heir, in the 12th Charles I. (1636); and was described in the deed as "the new house then lately built," and it has since descended with the rest of the Cark Hall estate.

The party then drove to Lakeside (hearty cheers being given for Mr. Rigge on his parting with the members near his residence, Wood Broughton), and was conveyed to Ambleside in the fine steam yacht "Britannia," which was generously placed at their disposal by the owner, Colonel Ridehalgh, who also provided a luncheon on board. The weather being beautifully fine, a most enjoyable day was spent.

Saturday, the concluding day of the meeting, was devoted to an inspection of Ulverston Parish Church and places of interest at Swarthmoor and Dalton district.

## ULVERSTON PARISH CHURCH.

On the members arriving at Ulverston Parish Church, the vicar (the Rev. C. W. Bardsley) gave an instructive description of the architectural peculiarities of the church, and also a brief outline of its history. He observed that the date of the erection of the first parish church of Ulverston was not known, but as they found that the church was granted to the Priory of Conishead by William de Lancaster, who assumed this title by permission of Henry II., there was every reason to believe that it was actually in existence and properly attended by a ministry about 1150, though its foundation probably went back some years before that period. About the year 1200 a dispute arose between the Prior of Conishead and the Abbot of Furness as to the appropriation of the several churches in the district, and in 1208 the matter was referred to the Archdeacon of Richmond, who decided in favour of Conishead Priory as regarded the church. In 1230, Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, gave a similar decision; and, in 1307, all that had been granted to Conishead Priory by William de Lancaster

was confirmed. The result was that after one hundred years' controversy Conishead Priory held the incumbency of Ulverston Church and that of Pennington, while Furness Abbey secured the churches of Dalton and Urswick. In 1536 Conishead Priory and Furness Abbey were dissolved, and after that period the estate and interest of the church passed through several hands, and at last were purchased by the lord of the manor of Conishead. Since the death of the late Colonel Braddyll, of the Priory, they were obtained by Messrs. Petty and Postlethwaite, bankers, of Ulverston, who disposed of them to the Rev. Alfred Peache, who placed them in the hands of trustees. The vicar also gave an interesting description of the altar tomb of William Sandys, Esq., of Conishead Priory, and of the various mural tablets, the oldest of which, he explained, was that of Myles Dodding, and Margaret his wife (half-sister and joint heiress of the above William Sandys). The attention of the members was called to the stone in the tower wall, and several ascended a ladder which had been erected to get a better view of the inscription, which has been the subject of some controversy, and they were unanimous in fixing the date at 1543, and not 1154 as was contended by some. Several of the members expressed the opinion that the figures in the old east (now the north-west) window were the work of Jervais, after paintings by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and similar to those by the same artist in a window at New College, Oxford.

## SWARTHMOOR HALL.

The party then drove to Swarthmoor Hall, where the following paper was read by the Rev. L. R. Ayre:—This ancient mansion stands on the edge of a large tract of land known as Swarthmoor, which is said by tradition to have derived its name from the Flemish general, Martin Swartz, a soldier of noble family, who, in 1487, with Lord Lovel and the Earls of Lincoln and Kildare, encamped here with an invading army of some seven thousand German and

Irish troops, who had landed at the Piel of Fouldrey with the intention of placing Lambert Simnel on the throne of England. The tradition, however, does not appear to rest upon any substantial foundation, for authorities which I have consulted state that the name is found in *Domesday Book* as Warte. Swarthmoor Hall is a very plain specimen of an Elizabethan country house, and one that has special attractions for members of the Society of Friends, on account of its having been for several years the occasional resort, and for a time the home, of George Fox, the founder of the society. The locality is one he always loved. "Here" (says Mr. J. Croston, in *Historic Sites of Lancashire and Cheshire*) "he gained his most enthusiastic converts, achieved his greatest triumphs, and suffered his severest persecutions; it was here, too, he won his faithful wife; and here also, in the later years of life, he loved to retire to recruit his weakened energies and prepare himself for a renewal of his arduous work." Swarthmoor Hall, until a few years ago, was in a very neglected and dilapidated state, and presented the appearance of a third-rate farmhouse. However, with a change of tenants, various alterations were effected; though whether they all really deserve to be called improvements is perhaps questionable. The building enjoys a favourable site, comprising an extensive prospect of a very varied character, and in spite of alterations it still retains many of the characteristic features of the time when it was built. The roof is gabled. The windows have square-headed drip mouldings and heavy stone mullions without tracery. On one side of the house a square bay of three storeys projects from the line of the main structure, and is the one feature specially noticeable on a survey of the exterior. The principal approach to it has been from out of the high road leading to Urswick along the edge of the moor, to where the remains of a high wall and the spring of the arch of a gateway serve as an entrance to the farmyard. The yard is enclosed by a long range of outbuildings on the west side, probably continuous with the gateway just referred

to. These outbuildings consisted of barns, stables, cow-sheds, brewhouse, store rooms, and other offices, and show by their masonry the age to which they belong, being coeval with the hall. The north and east sides of the house are occupied by the remains of a large garden and orchard, fenced in by a substantial wall of stone. The front door opens into the courtyard; it has been renewed during the last century. The interior has been so much altered at different times that it is difficult to recognise the original arrangement of the apartments. The great hall has been encroached upon by a passage which now leads from the front door to the staircase, but its proportions are still such as to indicate the provision made for entertainment and amusement. Here the earlier meetings of the Friends were held, and here for almost forty years they used to assemble until the meeting house a short distance off was built by George Fox's order and at his expense. On one side of the room is a deep recess, with a slightly-raised floor, with windows lighting it on three sides. Here is preserved an old oak writing desk, said to have been the one which Fox made use of. A doorway opens from this apartment, up two stone steps, into a small room said to have been his study. A short passage between the rooms leads to a door opening into the garden. The chambers on the first floor are spacious apartments, and are panelled with oak; adjoining the chief one is a small room, with a door opening to the outside over the door just mentioned on the ground floor. As this opening is at a considerable height from the ground, it is probable that there was at one time or other a projecting balcony. It is said that from this elevated position Fox was accustomed to address his followers assembled in the garden below, when their number was too large to admit of their being conveniently accommodated in the hall. Early in the seventeenth century this house was the residence and property of Thomas Fell, Esq., a barrister of Gray's Inn. He was a gentleman of long-descended ancestry, and enjoyed great wealth and influence. Siding

with the Parliament on the outbreak of the Civil War, he was promoted to various important offices. He was placed upon the commission of the peace for Lancashire; he was elected one of the M.P.s for Lancaster; he was appointed one of the judges of assize for the Chester and North Wales circuit; and was also made Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. His wife was Margaret Askew, a descendant of that Anne Askew who was burnt for her adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, in the reign of Henry VIII. Mrs. Webb, in her work entitled *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, describes the generous hospitality of Thomas Fell and his wife as unbounded. "Their house," she says, "seems to have been frequented by the good and great, and was open both to worthy strangers and the personal friend." But especially did they welcome ministers of religion who might chance to visit that neighbourhood, either in connection with their religious vocation or on other interests. How, in the winter of 1652, George Fox came to Ulverston, and was hospitably received as a guest at Swarthmoor Hall, while her husband was on circuit; how he went to Ulverston Church and delivered an exciting address, which made so powerful an impression on the mind of Mrs. Fell that she soon became one of his staunchest supporters, and how her husband, as he was returning home, was informed by friends of what had occurred; and how, though at first he was indignant, and greatly incensed against the man who had, as he thought, so strangely "bewitched" his wife and family, he afterwards became his friend and protector, and permitted him to hold weekly meetings in his dining-hall; these are all circumstances of great interest, and closely associated with the history of Swarthmoor Hall, but cannot now be related at length. It must suffice to add that Judge Fell died in 1658, and was buried in Ulverston Church, and that his widow, eleven years after his death, became the wife of George Fox. She survived her second husband several years, and, dying at Swarthmoor Hall in 1702, was buried in the Friends' Burial

Ground, at Sunbrick, on the edge of Birkrigg, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators.

## THE FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE.

The company next visited the Friends' Meeting House, respecting which the Rev. L. R. Ayre read the following statement:—The meeting house, built and endowed by George Fox, is a plain and unpretending structure, surrounded by a wall which encloses also a courtyard, stabling, and coach-house. Over the doorway may be read the inscription, "Ex dono, G. F., 1688." It has been subjected to a few alterations since the date of its erection. One such alteration consists in the removal of the original mullioned windows and the substitution of modern ones. Within the passage are two bedposts of ebony, once forming part of Fox's bedstead. They serve as jambs in a doorway leading to the gallery. There is an elbow chair in carved oak which once belonged to Fox, and another said to have come from Swarthmoor Hall; also his sea-chest. But the most interesting relic is the old Bible which also belonged to Fox, with lock and chain attached, by which it was formerly secured to the preacher's platform. It is a folio volume, printed in the year 1541, but unfortunately it is not quite perfect.

The party then proceeded to Dalton Castle, which was explained by Mr. E. Wadham. He said that the exact date of its erection was unknown, but it was probably coeval with Furness. At one time the castle contained three storeys, the original corbels being plainly visible. The large upper room was where the Abbot of Furness used to hold his civil courts; but the room was now used for baronial and manorial courts. In 1854 the three storeys were made into two.

The party afterwards visited the new Parish Church at Dalton, after inspecting which they proceeded to Furness Abbey, which was explained by Mr. Paley, one of the local committee. This terminated the Society's excursion.

*Thursday, June 4th*, 1885.

## REDDYSHORE SCOUT GATE.

The members, under the leadership of Dr. H. Colley March, visited Reddyshore Scout Gate. This track was interesting as being "a certain common and ancient pack and prime way;" and some portions of the narrow pavement, deeply worn by horses' feet, yet remained. It was the old, and for long the only, road between Littleborough and Todmorden at a time when the valley through which the present traffic passed was filled with fallen rock, was obstructed by trees and underwood, streams and gullies, and was doubtless infested by wolves. The significance of the name was adverted to. Gate, of course, was way; scout was a shooting out or promontory; there was score, a cutting or cliff; while reddy indicated a soil in some places deeply stained with iron; so that the whole name, Reddyshore Scout Gate was equivalent to "the way over the promontory of the ruddy cliff." It was found that the causey consisted of a line of large blocks of stone, braced or edged by a few small ones, and was manifestly constructed simply for horses, not being wide enough for wagons. The causey rose and fell, and swerved from side to side in accordance with the undulations of the land, while the foot-worn furrow, which had a lateral sinuosity of its own, in consequence of the inability of horses to walk in a perfectly straight line, was further seen to have no central convexity, and to vary in depth, width, and character with the varying hardness of every stone. Midway on the road the Society examined an old milestone. It stood six feet out of the ground, a parallelopiped, with its top or terminal surface not quite equilateral, but about a foot square. The edges or angles of the middle portion of the stone, for about half its entire length, were bevelled, with an ornamental intention. On each face was an inscription, as follows; that relating to Todmorden, cut all in Roman capitals, being of

greater apparent age than any of the others. All of them began in the upper, sharply-cornered part, and were continued down into the bevelled portion.

| To | To | To | TO |
|---|---|---|---|
| Burn- | Hali- | Roch | TODM |
| -ley | -Fax | -dale | ORD |
| 9 | 10 | 6 | EN |
| ɳl | M | M | 2 |
| | | | M |

The angle between the Burnley and Todmorden inscriptions was somewhat broken away, and here the lettering was imperfect. The milestone stood at three cross ways, one going to Todmorden and Burnley, and one to Rochdale; the third dropping down the steep hill-side into the valley, where ran the modern road, and there disappearing. As the distance from the milestone to Halifax by the modern road was nearly fifteen miles, it was certain that the packhorse track, in order to reach that town in ten miles, must have climbed the opposite side of the deep valley. A portion of this track was said to exist near some houses called Causey Side.

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*Saturday, June 13th*, 1885.

WHALLEY CHURCH AND ABBEY.

Over forty members of the Society visited Whalley, under the leadership of the Honorary Secretary. The party first visited Whalley Church, where they were met by the Rev. Mr. Doxey, who kindly described the chief points of interest in the church.

Mr. S. E. Haworth read a paper on the church. He said: Whalley Church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. There is some reason to believe that it was in the first instance dedicated to All Saints; and, as was frequently the case during the wave of Mariolatry in the thirteenth century, the more honoured additional dedication to the Virgin

Mary became the dominant title. Some confusion has arisen owing to one of the chantries being dedicated to St. Nicholas. The history of the church runs back with some clearness and continuity to the annals of the Northumbrian Kingdom. The village is marked on the map of that kingdom, and the name Whalley is Saxon. I very much doubt whether, according to Bishop Gastrell, Augustine preached the gospel in this wild district, the borderland of Northumbria and Mercia. The belief that Paulinus did so rests on firmer ground. In the early part of the seventh century Oswald introduced Elfin and Wilfrid to preach the gospel in the neighbourhood of Winwick, Warrington, and North Cheshire. The ancient cross and civic seal at Dewsbury attest the presence of Paulinus in that district of Yorkshire about the same time. The ancient parish of Halifax, including Dewsbury, was and is now contiguous to the ancient parish of Whalley. There is nothing out of the way, therefore, in the belief that at Whalley Paulinus himself proclaimed the gospel to our rude forefathers. The corporation of Burnley, seven miles away, has recently taken steps to preserve the ancient cross in Godly Lane, which tradition associates with Paulinus. Of the crosses in the churchyard of Whalley, one of them stands out clearly as the oldest; obeliscal in form, the fretwork corresponding with the Saxon font at Astbury Church and many other crosses at Penrith, Sandbach, Winwick, and in parts of Somersetshire. It is reasonable therefore to assume that this is a preaching cross, marking the mission of Paulinus between A.D. 625 and 631, the year when Edwyn, King of Northumbria, died. The other two crosses are probably burial crosses marking the grave of some prominent ecclesiastics. The top stone of one of them was taken from the chancel of the church. The whole of the crosses have suffered very much from injury; one of them was used as a gate post, when Vicar Johnson, A.D. 1738, replaced them within the enclosure of the churchyard. The church at Whalley referred to in the Domesday record is the eighth-

century edifice. The spot where the new faith was preached, held as sacred, would naturally be chosen for the site of a sanctuary for worship and devotion, which weather and climate would press for erection. This building was known as the "White church under the Leigh," no doubt marking the distinction between the dark timber erections and an edifice of stone. Whitchurch in Shropshire is a case in point. Not a vestige of this church remains beyond a few scattered stones. The list of deans is interesting, including Spartinglus, Liwlph, Cutwulph, &c., ending with Roger, a relative of the Lacys, of Clitheroe Castle. The deans ceased when the Lateran Council, in A.D. 1215, forbid ecclesiastics to marry. Roger de Cestria was the first and only rector; since then Whalley has been a vicarage. The oldest portions of the present church are:—1. The inner porch doorway. 2. The columns in the north aisle, which belong to a later period than the Conquest, marking the transition from the Norman to Early English. 3. The choir, probably the work of Peter de Cestria, A.D. 1220, a specimen of good Early English, with an oaken roof of great beauty and antiquity. 4. The nave roof, of a later period. 5. Portions of the tower. The eight lancet windows in the chancel are very perfect. The connection between the abbey and church is preserved, *(a)* By the eighteen stalls, with light, elegant, carved canopies, brought from the abbey and now placed in the choir of the church; *(b)* By the tombstone in the vestry of Prior Thurstan de Cestria; *(c)* By the tombstone in the north chantry of Paslew, the last abbot, who was hanged A.D. 1536; *(d)* The tombstone of Prior Christopher Smith; *(e)* The remains of stone coffins, evidently the sepulchres of great ecclesiastics. There are only two records in the church of the vicars of Whalley. The memory of Stephen Gay is kept fresh by a monumental brass. A recumbent figure in Caen stone of Dr. Whitaker preserves the memory of the distinguished historian, who was buried at Holme. Of him we can justly say—

> The name that dwells on every tongue
> No minstrel needs to sing.

The east window he placed in Whalley Church is a fitting legacy, preserving in heraldry the record of all the great families associated with Whalley by residence or property for several centuries. The crests of Archbishop Manners Sutton, of Canterbury, and Bishop Law, of Chester, are in prominent positions. Every name is pregnant with history. The lines of Lacy, Bradyll, Nowell, Cunliffe, Ormerod, Whalley, and Banastre have practically ceased. The name of Townley promises soon to become extinct. The Curzon and Beaumont families have lost their territorial connection. The Duke of Buccleuch is still lord of the manor. The Welds have migrated to the West Derby Hundred. The Halstead, Starkie, Assheton, and Holden families retain a local influence. The Hargreaves family, in two branches, are as powerful as ever. The Parkers still flourish in three principal lines. The Whitakers retain their landed interest at Holme in Cliviger. The oaken pew with carved lattice work and Latin inscription has been the subject of hot dispute and costly litigation. The two chantries have very interesting connections. The hand of ruin had lain heavily on the venerable pile. The restoration commenced in 1844 has been well carried out, preserving the main original features of the structure. All antiquaries will join in the strong desire that an edifice so historic may long be preserved as a landmark of the past.

After tea the members proceeded to Whalley Abbey, and a meeting was held, Mr. J. E. Bailey presiding.

The Rev. E. F. Letts read a paper on the abbey, in which he described the scenery in whose midst it is placed, and gave a sketch of its site, arrangement, inhabitants (the Cistercians, or Reformed Benedictines), and history.

Mr. S. Jackson, of Bolton, exhibited the original Writ of Privy Seal, granting to the Abbot and Convent of Whalley permission to fortify their buildings.

Mr. Bailey, referring to the document exhibited, said

that after the baronial castles had been demolished with the view of preventing rebellions, it was customary for the king, from the year 1154, to allow lords of manors and religious communities in exposed situations to fortify their houses with kernelled or crenellated (*i.e.*, embattled) walls or ramparts. Such a licence, for instance, had been granted to Battle Abbey in 1339; another had been given to the lords of Halton Castle, Cheshire, and the Duke of Lancaster, in 1357, claimed to hold that place for himself and heirs *crenellatum.* Bulwer Lytton in *The Caxtons* has used this word, to which "cranny" is allied, in an odd but expressive sense in relation to the shelves of a library—"octavo ramparts and quarto crenellations." The Whalley licence, which was drawn up in the usual form, was sought in consequence of the insecurity of the north of England against the attacks of the Scots. The unsettled state of the Scotch Marches kept astir the entire archbishopric for many generations. Ten years after the new buildings at Whalley had been begun, viz., in 1318, the Scots, with a keen scent for the rich granges and other possessions of the religious houses, had penetrated into England as far as Fountains, Otley, and Knaresborough. The blackened walls of the castle of the latter town remain to this day as a witness of that most disastrous raid in which sixty benefices are said to have been destroyed. This was the time when Salley Abbey and its monks were reduced to want, and when Bolton Abbey was nearly ruined, its priest having fled into Blackburnshire and the monks to Skipton "for feare of the Scottes." Archbishop Melton and the northern prelates hastily summoned and equipped the retainers of the abbots and others, who of all persons had the largest territorial stakes in jeopardy; but the musters were ill trained, and the ensuing engagement at Mytton, in Yorkshire, called by the Scots in derision "The Chapter of Mytton," ended in a shameful defeat. The licence for crenellating Naworth Castle was dated in 1335, and in 1341 Robert de Langton obtained a licence for forti-

fying his house in Newton-in-Makerfield, near Warrington. In 1345 the Scots again penetrated into Cumberland, scattering the inmates of the religious houses. The Mytton incident was not avenged until the following year, during the king's absence in the campaign which ended with the battle of Cresсy; when Archbishop Zouch, a far more able and more valorous ecclesiastic than his predecessor, was made Warden of the Marches. The news coming to York of another irruption into Northumberland and Cumberland, vigorous efforts were put forth by that prelate, and the victory of Neville's Cross was achieved 17th October, 1346. The same year Penrith was permitted to fortify itself. It was about two years after this date that the monks of Whalley, whose nearest fortress was Clitheroe, begged permission to put their buildings into a state of defence, in order to provide against any future contingency. The royal licence which they obtained is addressed to all the king's liege bailiffs or magistrates. It states that by special favour he, for himself and heirs, to those beloved by him in Christ (viz., the Abbot and Convent of Whalley), for the greater security of the abbot and his said house, gives permission that the said inmates might strengthen and crenellate their church and the enclosure of the abbey with a stone wall; and that the buildings thus fortified could be held for themselves and their successors for ever without peril or hindrance on the part of the king, his heirs, his justiciars, escheators, sheriffs, or any of his other magistrates or servants. These letters patent were attested at Westminster by the king, on Thursday, 10th July, 1348, in the twenty-second year of his reign over England, and the ninth year of his reign over France. The full text of the licence is as follows: — "*Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Franciæ et dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ballivis fidelibus suis ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, dilectis nobis in Christo, Abbati et conventui de Whalleye, et ob majorem securitatem suam et domus suæ*

*predictæ quod ipsi ecclesiam suam et clausam Abbatiæ suæ muro de petra et calce firmare et kernellare, et eandem Abbatiam sic firmatam et krenellatam tenere possuit sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum, justiciariorum, escætorum, vicecomituum, aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium decimo die Julii anno regni nostri Angliæ vicesimo secundo regni, vero nostri Franciæ nono.*" The abbot who was instrumental in obtaining this charter for his house was Dr. John Lyndeley, who, as the author of the *Status de Blagburneshire* and the compiler of the Coucher Book, has met with no stinted eulogy at the hands of Dr. Whitaker. Mr. Bailey remarked, in conclusion, that it was most likely due to these ruins that the attractive historian just named became an antiquary.

Mr. Jackson narrated the circumstances which led to his becoming the possessor of the charter described, and intimated that, for its safekeeping in future, he should present it to the Chetham Library.

New members elected: John Fell, J.P., Mayor of Barrow, Mrs. John E. Bailey, Miss Annie E. F. Barlow, C. Wadsworth, Charles Heape, Miss Katherine French, Mrs. Gilbert J. French.

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*Tuesday, June 30th,* 1885.

MIDDLETON CHURCH: THE ASSHETONS.

An evening meeting was held at Middleton. The Rector (the Rev. Waldegrave Brewster) and the Rev. C. H. Hill joined the party.

Mr. Robert Langton read a paper on the early church, and the remains of it now visible. The substance of his remarks will be found at page 35, in his paper on "Remains of Norman Architecture."

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper on "The Lords of Middleton," showing that in a period of about sixteen hundred years the manor had been held by only four families, namely, the Middletons down to Henry VII.; the Bartons for two generations only; and the Asshetons from the time of Edward IV. down to 1760, when Mary Ashton married Sir Harbord-Harbord, Bart., afterwards Lord Suffield. The manor is now in other hands. The Middletons also owned the right of common pasture in Bury. Of the family some were judges and sergeants learned in the law. The only male owner of the Bartons was John of Friton, co. York, who married Maude Middleton, the last of her line; their daughter Margaret, sole heir of this John Barton, married Sir Raufe Assheton, and so the Asshetons acquired the manor of Middleton. There is a muddle made by the Heralds Flower 1567 (Chetham Society, Vol. LXXXI.), and St. George 1613 (Chetham Society, Vol. LXXXII.). Certain it is, however, that Margaret Assheton had for husband Sir Raphe Ashton, Knight, Marshal of England, third son of Sir John Ashton, of Ashton-under-Lyne. Sir Ralph is believed to have been the "Blake Lad," whose riding is represented every Easter Monday in Ashton-under-Lyne. In the pedigree of the Asshetons, stretching down for twenty-three generations, which Mr. Esdaile produced, he showed the descent of the various branches of Middleton, Chadderton, and Shipley of Great Lever, and of Downham to which latter we must look for the male representative of the Assheton line. The family has been great in arms, nearly a score of knights being on the roll of the family, which has been represented on the battle-fields of Durham, Norham, and Northampton, in the French wars, and at Flodden. It has given wardens to the Cinque Ports, seneschals to Bayeux, bailiffs to Coutances, judges to Gascony and to England. There have been seven baronets of Middleton and Great Lever representatives in parliament, and numerous ecclesiastics to Middleton and other churches. The records of the period

of the Wars of the Roses show that many members of the family of Assheton were excepted in the "Acts of Resumption" passed in those troublous times when men's heads were easily removed. This family favoured the House of York, as the various grants of £20, 100s., twenty marks, and a tun of wine yearly will show. One of the knights of this family was amongst those who (11 Edward IV.) swore allegiance to Edward Prince of Wales (during the life of Edward IV.), and also to acknowledge him as king in the event "that in case hereafter it happen you, by Goddis disposition, to outlive our said sovereign lord, I shall then take and accept you for true, veray, and righteoisi King of England." An uncle of Sir Rauff, Sir Thomas Ashton, with his friend Sir Edmund Trafford (Sir Thomas's son John married Sir Edmund's daughter Dulcia) were commissioned by Henry VI. to find the philosopher's stone; the patent 24 Henry VI. was "for making alchymy and changing several metals." They also boasted that they could "impart to man perpetual youth, with unimpaired powers of mind and body, by means of the mother and queen of medicines—the inestimable glory—the quintessence or the elixir of life." They all, however, died in the usual way. Mr. Esdaile gave a brief account of the church, which was known by records to have been in existence in 1291, when the living was of equal value with that of Bury, viz., £13. 6s. 8d. The present fabric is stated by Canon Raines (Chantries, p. 120, Vol. LIX. Chetham Society) to have been consecrated after its re-erection by Bishop, afterwards Cardinal, Langley, Prince-Bishop of Durham, by licence from John Bourghill, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, dated August 22nd, 1412.

The Rector (the Rev. Waldegrave Brewster) thanked Mr. Langton for enabling the date of the first erection to be taken as 1081, by the internal evidence then adduced; but he certainly took exception to the statement by Canon Raines as to the licence. He (the rector) had made every possible inquiry at Lichfield, and the officials there had

conducted a careful search without finding any trace of the licence alluded to.

Mr. Esdaile exhibited rubbings of the whole of the fine brasses in the church, and of the incised slab in the north aisle.

Mr. Giles Shaw, of Oldham, read an exhaustive paper on the chantries in the parish church of Middleton; on the plate, vestments, and bells; on the estates left for the sustentation of the priests; and on the grammar school originally founded by Cardinal Langley and re-founded by Dean Nowell as "Queen Elizabeth's Free School of Middleton," charter dated 11th August, 1572; at the same time Nowell founded thirteen scholarships at Brazenose College, Oxford, "for the better encouragement of learning and true Christian religion among the rude inhabitants of Lancashire, he being a native there."

New members elected: Charles J. B. Trappes, J.P., Robert Wood, Mrs. J. Ferns Lawton.

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*Saturday, July 4th,* 1885.

VISIT TO HAIGH HALL.

Over sixty members, under the leadership of the Hon. Secretary, visited Haigh Hall, by special invitation of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. On arrival at Wigan a portion of the members walked to the entrance lodge of Haigh Park, pausing on the road to examine Mab's Cross and the monument to Sir Thomas Tyldesley, the royalist captain; the rest of the party proceeded by carriages. The walk through the park to Haigh Hall was most enjoyable, the foliage of the trees being very luxurious. Few people entering Wigan would imagine the existence of such a pleasant spot so near the town. On arrival at the hall the members were received by Lord Crawford, Lady Evelyn Crawford, and other members of the family.

The collection of Oriental and ancient European MSS.

number over five thousand, and a large selection was laid open for inspection. These rare examples of former and early English and continental penmanship date from the sixth and seventh centuries, and are written on the bark of trees, papyrus, vellum, and other substances. The collection of MSS. is especially rich in illuminated missals and copies of various portions of the Scriptures. One of the most notable MSS. was a Latin document about a yard and three-quarters in length and about eight inches in width, being a deed of gift of six ounces of gold to the Church of Ravenna. The donor was John of Ravenna, and the gift was a thank offering upon his recovery from illness. The upper part of the deed stated the particulars of the gift, and there were seven attestations by witnesses, each of whom gave a *précis* of the words of the deed of gift. Lord Crawford pointed out that one of the witnesses, while writing the Latin language used Greek letters for the purpose, an arrangement, he said, which helped to indicate the pronunciation of Latin. Amongst the printed books is a fine copy of the *Biblia Latina Vulgata* (generally known as the *Mazarin Bible*), printed on vellum, with coloured initials and ornamentation by hand; it was in two volumes numbering six hundred and thirty-seven leaves. This is said to have been the first book printed with moveable types, by Gutenberg, at Metz, in 1450, and to have occupied three years, doubtless only a single page being printed at one impression. A series of books were exhibited as specimens of Venetian and other bindings. A tenth-century *Treatise on the Psalms of David* was encased in wooden boards covered with plates of silver gilt, with filagree work round the sides, set with gems and plaques of enamel. Amongst other MSS. shown were copies of the Koran in various dialects from A.D. 800; also Persian, Chinese, Siamese, Javanese, and Mongolian MSS. and paintings. Among the historical documents were the following: An armorial MS. on vellum, written A.D. 1416, by an officer-of-arms at the Council of Constance; an illuminated armorial of Scotland,

drawn up by Sir David Lindesay; the original minute book of the Royal Commission (A.D. 1603) issued by James I. for the rectification of the Scottish border; an illustrated genealogy of the De Hornes of Flanders, dated 1630; the Herald Philpott's Armorial of England, on vellum, 1635; and the original Round-Robin presented to Dr. Samuel Johnson requesting him to write the epitaph on Goldsmith in English instead of Latin. The Biblical MSS. comprises a volume of homilies in Latin of the ninth century; an Evangeliarium of the tenth century; a Greek MS. of the Gospels, illuminated with figures of the Evangelists; a Sarum Missal on vellum, about 1250; a vellum Bible in large folio, of the same century; the Apocalypse, a Flemish MS. of great beauty, about 1300-1350; an illustrated New Testament on a vellum roll, about 1350-1400; and Lyra's Expositions, an Italian MS., written about 1410 for a member of the Malatesta family.

After some time had been spent in inspecting the books and MSS., which were described by the Earl, a formal meeting was held, Mr. John E. Bailey, F.S.A., presiding. Archdeacon Anson proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Crawford, which was seconded by Mr. Sales, supported by the Rev. E. F. Letts, and received with much cordiality. In tendering the resolution to his lordship,

Mr. Bailey said that the visit had been most gratifying to the members from the fact that the literary treasures which had been explained to them were brought directly underneath their inspection, making it an easy matter to remember the interesting facts connected with them. It was always tantalizing to see in great libraries the mere outsides of important books:

> With wistful glance the aching eyes behold
> Editio Princeps clad in blue and gold,
> Where the tall book-case with partition thin
> Displays, yet guards, the tempting charms within:
> So great Facardin viewed, as sages tell,
> Fair Crystalline immured in lucid cell!

Mr. Bailey called special attention to the heraldic Register in the autograph of David Lindesay of The Mount, the Scotch herald and poet of the reign of James IV., which, he said, it was pleasant to meet with in the home of a Lindsay. Lindesay's poems were intimately associated with the Reformation in Scotland, and there was much in them that recalled the style and wit of Latimer; as Lyon King he was introduced, almost like the sudden blast of a clarion, into the fourth canto of *Marmion:*

> Still is thy name in high account,
> And still thy verse has charms,
> Sir David Lindesay of the Mount,
> Lord Lion King-at-arms!

It was of some interest to remember that Leland, who travelled through Lancashire in the reign of Henry VIII., specially mentioned Haigh Hall. "Mr. *Bradeshau* hath a Place caullid *Hawe* a Myle from *Wigan.* He hath founde moche canel like Se Coole in his Grounde very profitable to hym. . . . The Great Myne of Canale is at *Hawe,* 2 miles from *Wigan.* One *Bradshaw* dwelleth at *Hawe.*" Leland was something more than a mere journey-maker, for he was a Camden before Camden; and it was said of him that what he did was faithful, but that what he designed was glorious. In his *Commentaries de Scriptoribus Britannicis* he left on record a very fine tribute to the influence of a great library, and it was quite worthy to be recalled in such a spot and such an occasion as the present. Travelling to Glastonbury some time before the dissolution, Leland obtained permission from Abbot Whiting to inspect the library of the monastery, a favour not accorded to everybody. That library, he said, contained the remains of very sacred antiquity in such numbers as were hardly to be found anywhere else in Britain; and he proceeds to relate that he had scarcely entered the porch of the room when the very view of the books threw a kind of religious awe over his mind, or rather raised up a wild astonishment in it; and the feeling made him stop short for a while. "Then, *after a*

*salutation to the genius of the room,* I entered; and for certain days I ransacked the contents with much curiosity." The Earl of Crawford typified at once the courteous abbot and the genius. The members would leave the Haigh Library with their knowledge quickened or enlarged, and they would retain pleasant recollections of all that they had seen and heard. They had not failed to recognise the taste which had been displayed in the formation of the collection, and to mark the care which was bestowed upon it—qualities which would recall to many what Ferrier wrote of the library of Heber:

> You gather nobly and with generous hand
> The Muse's treasures from each letter'd strand.
> The folio Aldus load your happy shelves,
> And dapper Elzevirs, like fairy elves,
> Shew their light forms amidst the well-gilt Twelves.

Lord Crawford subsequently conducted the party through the conservatories and grounds.

On the way back to the station Wigan Church was visited and the Bradshaw Chapel inspected. Mr. Letts narrated the tradition of Mab's Cross.

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*Saturday, July 18th,* 1885.

VISIT TO LIVERPOOL FREE LIBRARY, MUSEUM, AND ART GALLERY.

The members to the number of about forty visited Liverpool, in order to inspect the Free Library, Museum, and Art Gallery. At the Free Library they were received in the librarian's room by Sir James A. Picton, chairman of the Library, Museum, and Arts Committee, who conducted them through the library, on the tables of which Mr. Peter Cowell, the chief librarian, had laid out for their inspection the Binns Collection of Lancashire Maps and Drawings, and other volumes of special interest. The visitors were much struck with the number and value of the works of reference, and the admirable manner in which they were arranged. Having passed through the reading room and

the rooms in which the models of ancient castles, abbeys, and monasteries are exhibited, the party were shown the Rotunda Lecture Hall, the peculiar design and uses of which were explained by Sir James. The Walker Art Gallery was next visited, Mr. Alfred Fraser, assistant curator, acting as guide; after which the Derby Natural History Collection and the Mayer Museum of Antiquities were inspected, under the guidance of the Rev. H. H. Higgins, chairman of the museum sub-committee, Mr. Moore, the curator, and Mr. Entwistle, assistant. The tour of inspection, which occupied about two hours, having been completed, tea and coffee were served to the visitors in the committee room. Before they left to return to Manchester,

Sir James A. Picton expressed the gratification which their visit had afforded him. He then gave a short sketch of the origin and progress of the institutions located in the magnificent group of buildings under the charge of the Library, Museum, and Arts Committee, stating that there could not have been laid out on the buildings and their contents much less than about £250,000, which he thought they would agree with him showed satisfactory progress since the modest sum of about £1,700 was subscribed towards the establishment of the first free public library and reading room in Duke Street, which was opened on the 15th October, 1852. There were noble public buildings in Manchester, devoted to similar purposes, and he thought that the two sister cities, acting hand in hand together in regard to the progress of literature, art, science, and education, might set an example to the rest of the kingdom. He hoped that the members of the Society would not go away quite dissatisfied with what they had seen, but that they had picked up some few crumbs of pleasure and information; and he assured them that if they wished at any future time, individually or collectively, to examine the collection, whether of literature, art, or science, under the charge of the committee of which he had the honour to be the chairman, every facility would be given to them.

Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir James Picton, Mr. Cowell, Mr. Moore, Mr. Entwistle, and Mr. Fraser, for the kindness and courtesy they had shown to the members of the Society, said, on behalf of the latter, that they had enjoyed, as they had enjoyed before, the classic architecture exhibited in the buildings; and they had also been delighted with the interiors of the same, where they had seen the signs of taste in the cultivation of painting and literature and in the collection of archæological relics. He had often thought that the modern development of these tastes was materially aided by the influence of the accomplished William Roscoe and his contemporaries, who gave to Liverpool a high literary and artistic repute, and who were associated in the mind with a degree of affluence and lettered ease such as few learned communities in the provinces possessed. That condition of things was happily illustrated by the classic motto of the city—*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*—a sentiment which was far removed from the spirit exhibited in the arms of Manchester, for its legend, *Concilio et labore*, prosaically said that by putting together heads and shoulders so and so could be accomplished, including the Ship Canal. For her heraldic legend, Liverpool selected a piece of a verse out of one of the Eclogues of Virgil, which might be translated—

> Octavian's aid
> This leisure made;

or, taking from the word *Deus* the heathen sense in which the poet used it in reference to a deified Roman emperor,

> To God one owes
> This bless'd repose.

Much of the spirit of the former literary era of Liverpool was exemplified in Sir James Picton, who, amidst a busy professional life, had ever created, or, as Keats said, coined the leisure for the pursuit of studies of a varied character. Those studies were especially noteworthy in the attractive volumes he had written on the history of Liverpool. When opening the Picton Reading Room a few years ago, the

Earl of Derby called the attention of the audience to Sir James's history of the city, laying as much stress upon the literary merit of that work as upon its being an incentive to students to prosecute those subjects in which antiquaries took pleasure. These volumes, as well as the later volume compiled by Sir James on the *Records of Liverpool*, showed, indeed, that such pursuits need not always be as dry as "dull fools" supposed. It was of so "dull" a book as Dodsworth's *Monasticon* that an accomplished poet wrote:

> Thence culls the pensive bard his pictur'd stores.
> Nor rough nor barren are the winding ways
> Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers.

The local antiquaries of the future would be particularly grateful to Sir James Picton and his coadjutors for the attention they had given to the municipal archives, and to the admirable order in which they had been arranged for preservation. They had a wider interest than what belonged to Liverpool itself.

The vote was supported by the Rev. J. N. Pocklington and Mr. George Esdaile, and carried, and Sir James Picton and Mr. Cowell acknowledged it.

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*Saturday, July 25th*, 1885.

## LORD EGERTON'S COLLECTION OF PICTURES AND ARMS AT TATTON PARK.

Between seventy and eighty members paid a visit to Tatton Park, the seat of Lord Egerton, F.S.A., the President of the Society. Arriving at Altrincham by rail, the party proceeded in carriages to Rostherne Church, where they were received by the Rev. W. Clark and Mr. C. Lister, The old registers and wardens' books, dating from 1559, were laid out for the inspection of the members. The oldest of these records is carefully written on parchment. One entry gives an account of the hoisting of the bell in 1655, and another the appointment of Adam Martindale as minister in 1649.

After an examination of the church, the members departed for Tatton Park, where they were received by Lord and Lady Egerton. His lordship laid open his rich collection of pictures and arms and to both was an able *cicerone.* There were fine examples of Salvator Rosa, Rubens, Vandyke, Bronzino, the pupil of Pontormo, many of whose works he completed after his master's death; Both, of whom there were two examples; and two by Canaletti, glorious views in Venice, brought to Tatton Park by the great grandfather of the present noble owner. On the staircase were some examples by not only ancient but modern artists, notably a collection, or rather a series, of portraits of Cheshire gentry of the last century. The armoury, the next object of attraction, is filled with an extremely rich, varied, and valuable selection of Eastern arms and armour collected by Lord Egerton from 1855 to the present time, and arranged in due ethnological method, containing the weapons in use amongst the aboriginal races, the Dravidian races, the Mongolian races, the Malay and Aryan races, and the Mahomedans of Southern India, the geographical area represented comprising Afghanistan, Beloochistan, Punjab, Sind, Oudh, Behar, Bengal, Assam, Burmah, Siam, Malay, the Andaman, and Nicobar Islands, Southern India, and Ceylon. As it was impossible with such a numerous audience to point out in detail the beauties of the various arms, his lordship gave a running commentary on the collection of small arms, ranging from a Malay Kris to that most pointed of weapons, a charming "bare bodkin" enriched with all the art in steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold that the smith could apply; and daggers with rock-crystal handles, always cold to the most heated hand, with sheaths of solid tortoise-shell enriched with grotesque carvings of animals. His lordship pointed out the strong liking for devil worship appearing in the ornamentation of the pommels of the swords and daggers, and whilst the representation of the old one was large, the image of Buddha was "in little." On one of the powder flasks seen

was a succession of monsters devouring each other in turn, and carved out in a gayal horn (Fig. 5, Egerton Collection). Examples of the Sikh quoit were shown from Lahore, a disc of about six inches diameter of steel inlaid with silver, on one side a floral pattern, and on the other a native treatment of the cinq-foil, running, or rather repeated in a border, evidently referring to the arms of Hamilton, the quoit having an inscription upon it stating that it was made for a Mr. Hamilton. These quoits were a distinctive weapon of the Sikh soldiers—the Akális—each man carrying several of these graduated quoits on his conical turban. When the weapon is used the warrior twirls it round the forefinger, and raising his hand above his head, discharges it with remarkable precision. The collection is rich in matchlocks of the most varied bore and length. There are swords of all sizes and makes, from the "gauntlet" sword of Mahratta cavalry, probably of Mogul origin, to the broad curved sword "teghá" in use among the Mahomedan Rajpoots, not forgetting the khándá, a double-edged sword, nor the long cut-and-thrust blade somewhat like an Andrea Ferrara, nor the prime favourite the "Sirohi," a slightly curved blade shaped like a Damascus weapon. The handles of all these were marvels of art, every part of the hilts, the grips, the guards, the pommels being more or less lavishly decorated. Elephant goads, which are perhaps not strictly weapons, are represented, and also the boomerang in several forms.

The good offices of Lady Egerton now intervened, and the company adjourned to a feast of nature's own providing, laid for eighty persons.

Later, as the heat was most oppressive, an adjournment was made to the Temple, where Mr. Esdaile read a paper, which he entitled, "A Page out of the History of Cheshire, 1399-1402," wherein allusion was made to the families of Venables and of the Massies of Tatton, who, with their relations and retainers, had taken part in the troublous doings of the time, so that Robert de Workysley (Worsley),

of the county of Lancaster, petitioned the king (Henry IV.) that he might "prove in combat that the words of his petition were true, and that Mons. Johan Massy de Tatton, Thomas his son, and Geoffrey and Richard his brothers, might be ordered by the king to make him (the petitioner) a remedy for the imprisonments, perils, damages, and costages that he (the petitioner) had undergone at their connivance." What was the result of the petition is not known, but the reply of the king was, "Let the parties appear before the King's Council on a certain day, and justice shall be done to them." Two years after, however, whether the Massies were wrong or not, a Mons. Johan de Massy de Tatton was summoned on the 21st July, 1401, to a Council at Westminster with a certain number of esquires. His confreres were "Mons. Piers de Dutton, Mons. Robert de Legh, and Mons. Richard Venables." About the same time a "Mons. Johan de Masey" was constable of Conway Castle, and a "Dycon de Masey" was constable of "Hardelagh."

Mr. George Milner proposed a vote of thanks to Lord and Lady Egerton for their kind reception of the members of the Society, and for the learned address upon the rare collection of Eastern arms by Lord Egerton.

Colonel Fishwick seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

His Lordship replied, thanking all present for their appreciation of the address, which he should be glad to repeat when an opportunity occurred of entering more into detail than was then possible.

The election of the following new members was reported: William H. Guest and W. A. Posnett.

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*Thursday, July 30th*, 1885.

An evening meeting was held at Eccles, where the parish church was visited under the guidance of Mr. Charles W. Bayley (one of the churchwardens) and Mr. Edward Kirk.

Many of the interesting architectural features of the church were pointed out, and the older and more interesting registers and other documents were exhibited in the vestry.

The party then adjourned to the Cross Keys Hotel, where tea was provided by the local members of the Society.

Mr. Charles W. Sutton afterwards took the chair, and Mr. E. Kirk read a paper on some features in the history of Eccles parish, promising at a future time to deal with the inedited church documents to which Canon Pitcairn had kindly given him access.

A conversation followed, in which Messrs. G. Esdaile, W. Bowden, S. E. Haworth, F. Moorhouse, R. Gill, H. H. Sales, C. C. Smith, and the Rev. W. Crass took part.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Kirk, Mr. Bayley, and the other entertainers was passed, on the motion of Mr. Sales, seconded by Mr. A. Nicholson.

The thanks of the meeting were also voted to the Rev. Canon Pitcairn, proposed by Mr. Kirk and seconded by Mr. Yates.

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## *Saturday, August 15th,* 1885.

### HOGHTON TOWER.

About sixty members visited Hoghton Tower, the seat of Sir Charles de Hoghton, Bart., through whose kindness the whole of the buildings and the gardens were opened to the members. From the tower a fine view of the country was obtained. The ruined portion of the hall was inspected by the members. In one room there is a fine collection of native curiosities from New Guinea, collected by a brother of Sir Charles. These attracted attention on account of the numerous specimens of stone implements used by the natives of New Guinea. The restored portion of the hall was next reached, and when all were assembled in the great hall,

Mr. Anthony Hewitson, of Preston, read a paper on the Hoghton family and Hoghton Tower. In the course of the

paper Mr. Hewitson said that some forty years ago the country people were wont to display their skill in etymology in the following lines :—

> A man an' a cowt spells out,
> A kettle an' a pon spells Outon,
> Sweet milk an' sower (sour)
> Spells Hoghton Tower.

Hoghton Tower shows with sufficient clearness its original strength and grandeur. Rising in isolated pre-eminence from the rocky banks of the Darwen, the stately pile crowns the top of the hill. The western front is formed by three stately towers of which the centre is ornamented by battlements. The buildings on each side are ornamented by mouldings, fillets, balls, and mullion windows, and over the gateway are the family arms, carved in stone in the reign of Elizabeth, with the initials T. H. The building is of durable freestone, quarried from the hill on which it stands, and which, with the exception of the superstratum, appears to be entirely composed of that material. It is thus described by Dr. Kuerden :—

> At Hoghton high, which is a bower
> Of sports and lordly pleasure ;
> I wept, and left that lofty tower
> Which was my chiefest treasure.
> *(Lament of Thomas Hoghton.)*

This tower was built in Queen Elizabeth's reign by Thomas Hoghton, who translated his manor-house, formerly placed below the hill near the water side. For many generations this fine Elizabethan mansion had been allowed to go to ruin, and was untenanted by the owners ; but in 1876 its restoration was begun by the late Sir Henry de Hoghton, and the work is now being continued by the present baronet, who took up his residence here in July, 1880.

The members afterwards visited the old draw-well and the gardens.

After tea a meeting was held, at which Mr. Robert Langton presided, when a discussion over the paper took

place, in which Messrs. E. Kirk, C. Goodyear, F. Moorhouse, J. Noton, F. Popplewell, W. H. S. Watts, the Chairman, and others took part.

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*Saturday, August 29th,* 1885.

PRESTBURY CHURCH.

About forty members of the Society visited Prestbury, where they were met by Mr. James Croston, F.S.A., Dr. F. Renaud, F.S.A., Dr. Richmond, and Mr. Stevens, architect.

The party first inspected the school-house. The architectural and antiquarian points of interest were graphically described by Dr. Renaud, who pointed out that the Norman doorway with its superimposed sculptured entablature, as incorporated in the present school-house by Sir William Meredith, of Henbury, towards the middle of the last century, is of local historic interest, independently of its being the most perfect example of Norman architecture in the county. The proximate date of erection may be determined from a careful study of the figures wrought out in relief on the entablature. They are seven in all, and represent respectively a warrior, a king, the three persons of the Trinity, St. Peter, and an ecclesiastic. The warrior leans on a battle-axe. The king is crowned and seated, holding the globe in his left hand and a triple-budded sceptre in his right. The third figure with an animal-like dog at its feet (which was the recognised Norman method of representing a lamb) stands for the second person of the Trinity. The central figure, with a triple nimbus issuing from the head, represents the first person of the Trinity, holding a closed book in the left hand, and a stalked cross potence in the right hand, typical of the law and the gospel. Next comes the most mutilated figure of them all, having some resemblance to a bird, and as such standing for the third person of the Trinity. The sixth figure, holding a key, is that of St. Peter, to whom the oratory was, and the church of Prestbury is, dedicated. The pastoral or pilgrim's

staff denotes the ecclesiastical profession of the last figure in the group. From amongst these rude effigies, which are fast crumbling to decay, the clue to the date of the building is found in the second or kingly portraiture. The double-budded sceptre which the monarch holds in his right hand is peculiar to Richard I., as an inspection of the great seals demonstrate. In his reign, therefore, and when Randle Blundeville was earl of Chester, the monks of St. Werburg came from Chester and erected this oratory sometime between the years 1190 and 1199, the date of the duration of the lion-hearted king. Taken collectively the group of figures will read somewhat as follows: "In the name of the Blessed Trinity, this oratory dedicated to St. Peter was built by the abbot and monks of St. Werburg in the reign of Richard I., when Randle Blundeville was Earl of Chester." The date being thus determined beyond reasonable cavil, it follows that this little church, concerning which so many conflicting opinions have been hazarded, is more recent, and in no way associated with that other and older church which Hugh Kyvelioc, the predecessor of Randle Blundeville, solemnly dedicated, with all its appurtenances, to God and St. Werburg. It places on a firm basis the existence of a Saxon church at Prestbury at the date of Domesday survey, with which the remains of the Saxon cross recovered and set up in the churchyard completely harmonizes.

Mr. Croston then gave an interesting description of the Saxon cross; and led the members through the chancel which is being restored through the liberality of Mr. Legh, of Adlington Hall, describing the various periods of the architecture and other points of interest in the sacred edifice. The church was next entered and afterwards the vestry, where the ancient registers dating from 1560 were shown, Mr. Croston paying a well-deserved compliment to Mr. T. Dooley, the clerk, for the intelligent interest he had manifested in the collection and preservation of any relic of importance connected with the church, and for the assistance he had rendered him in his researches.

After Mr. Croston had described the sepulchral slabs and other objects of interest, the party partook of tea at Mr. Ward's farm, and subsequently held a meeting under the presidency of Mr. John E. Bailey, who expressed the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Croston, who was a distinguished antiquary, and who in the interesting surroundings of the place found ample means for research.

Mr. Croston—after expressing the pleasure with which, in his own name and those of his colleagues, the churchwardens of Prestbury, he welcomed the Society—gave some interesting historical particulars of the church. He said that Prestbury was one of the largest parishes in the county. Prestbury Church was the mother church of a parish having in it no fewer than thirty-two townships, reaching up to the borders of the great parish of Stockport; it originally included the present parishes of Taxal, Gawsworth, and Alderley. In dealing with the history of a place, one naturally desired to know the origin of the ecclesiastical foundation, but in this instance they were to some extent compelled to feel their way in the dark. There were no contemporary records to help them, and the first indication was the name of the place—Prest-bury; the name was Saxon, and indicated that an ecclesiastical settlement existed before the time of the Norman conquest. But when they came to refer to *Domesday Book* they found no mention of Prestbury in it, and it might be said that that was strong presumptive evidence no church then existed. On the other hand, when they read the descriptions of the neighbouring parts of Cheshire in that ancient record, considerable light was thrown upon the condition of the country, because the whole surrounding district was comprehended in the brief but very expressive word "wasta," which showed that the whole of this part of the county during the devastation which took place between the Saxon and the Dane, and also in the earlier years of the Conqueror's rule, had been laid waste. Still he had always felt satisfied the place was of Saxon origin, and that had been curiously

confirmed by the interesting memorial—the cross—they had seen in the churchyard that afternoon. Mr. Croston went on to decipher the hieroglyphics on the various fragments of the cross discovered during the restoration of the church, which, he said, told in symbolic but expressive language that it was erected to celebrate the first preaching of Christianity on the banks of the River Bollin. Referring to the older portion of the edifice, which Dr. Renaud had explained, Mr. Croston said that without accepting entirely the interpretation the doctor had put upon the figures over the doorway, he was inclined to believe that the building was of even earlier date than Dr. Renaud indicated. He did not think the building was Saxon; he did not believe there was a fragment of Saxon work in it; but he believed it was earlier than 1191, and he would tell them why. They found that the church of Prestbury was in existence in 1153, when Hugh Kyvelioc granted it with all its belongings to the monastery of St. Werburg, at Chester, and he could scarcely think that the smaller building would have been erected in 1190; he inclined to the opinion that the smaller edifice was erected first, and that the larger place of worship was erected subsequently, when the more ornate ritual then coming into use required a more imposing fabric. Mr. Croston proceeded to substantiate this contention by reference to the different periods of architecture, examples of which had been disclosed during the restoration of the church—a work which, he said, had been carried out in a highly satisfactory way, everything being preserved which was worth preserving. He said this not only in justice to the architect, the late Sir Gilbert Scott, but also in justice to that distinguished architect's son, Mr. John Oldred Scott, who had carried it out after his father's death. He described the dingy appearance of the church as it was before the restoration, and compared it with its present state, relating an interesting story of a feud between the churchwardens of Prestbury and Macclesfield, in olden times, in which the former were the victors, the point at issue being whether

the latter had a right to call themselves "churchwardens," Macclesfield being then subject to the mother church of Prestbury. After entertaining his audience with some curious anecdotes connected with the sanctus bell and the "Vicar of Bray" disposition of Vicar Jeynson, Mr. Croston concluded by expressing the hope that they had found their journey to the ancient church and village of Prestbury both pleasant and profitable.

Mr. Stevens next made a few remarks, endorsing what Mr. Croston had stated in greater detail as to the architectural portions of the church.

On the proposition of the Rev. J. N. Pocklington, seconded by Mr. G. Esdaile, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Croston, Dr. Renaud, Dr. Richmond, and Mr. Stevens.

The election of Charles W. Bayley and W. G. Makinson as members was reported.

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*Friday, October 9th,* 1885.

The first meeting of the winter session was held in the Chetham Library.

Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., presided, and in congratulating the members on the flourishing condition of the Society said he thought they had fully justified their position by the fact of their present numerical strength. He felt sure that the prosperity of the Society, and the fact that it was developing an amount of interest, not merely in Manchester, but in the surrounding district, was most satisfactory; but they must not forget that this success was largely due to the energy and business-like procedure of their honorary secretary, Mr. Yates. With regard to the work done outside, he considered they had every reason to feel satisfied. All the meetings during the summer months had been really centres of interest, not to themselves alone but to those places to which they went, and he considered they had done valuable service in spreading and encouraging the taste

for the antiquities of the two counties which found the legitimate field of their enterprise.

Lord Crawford sent for exhibition a collection of perforated stone hammers, stone and bronze axes, and flint spears and knives. These were described by Professor Dawkins.

Mr. Hanby exhibited the whole of the ancient plate belonging to Chetham Hospital.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker exhibited the original will of John Huntyngton, the first warden of Manchester, and dated November 7th, 1458, and proved before the Rural Dean of Manchester, 22nd November, 1458 (see p. 144). He also showed an original share or debenture bond of the Mersey and Irwell Navigation Company of 1724.

Mr. George Esdaile exhibited a flint arrow-head, said to have been found in Castle Field, 1853.

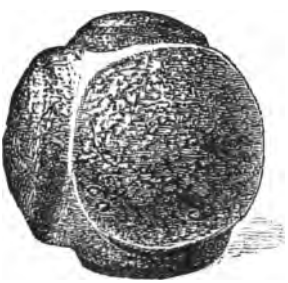
Dr. F. Renaud read a paper on a Monumental Slab taken from Glossop Church (see page 45), and exhibited the original slab and some drawings of it.

Dr. Renaud also, in illustration of the practice of using other persons' monuments, showed the rubbing of a noble Flemish brass, taken from the church of Wensleydale, in Yorkshire, the only identifying inscription being that engraved on a brass plate at the head, as follows: "Oswaldus Dykes jaceo hic Rector hujus Ecclesiæ XX annos. Reddidi animam 5º Decemb. 1607. Non moriar sed vivam et narrato opera Domini." To the initiated it was plain that a Jacobean inscription could not properly belong to a fourteenth-century brass, though the enigma was only solved within the last half century, when the will of Oswald Dykes was found amongst the York archives. In it a wish was expressed by Oswald Dykes to be buried in the grave of that good man, Simon de Wensley. This discovery at once solved the riddle, and identified the brass, which is described in Dr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire* as that of an unknown priest, and figured as such.

Mr. Nathan Heywood read a paper on Patches and

Battersea Patch-Boxes (see p. 54), which he illustrated with a series of patch-boxes from his own collection, along with others belonging to Dr. Renaud and Mr. Waring Faulder.

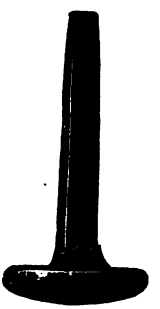
Mr. Thomas Oxley exhibited a curious Sculptured Stone Ball from the parish of Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire, and read the following description: These balls are of considerable interest from several points of view; they are undoubtedly pre-historic, are of great rarity, and their use is not known to us. The localities in which they have been found are confined to Scotland and Ireland. Dr. John Evans says of them in his *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, pp. 376-7: "The only suggestions that I have seen are that they were used in some game or amusement; or for defence when slung in a long thong or line;



or else for purposes of divination." Either of these may have been the case, but I incline more to the idea that they have been made and kept as a sort of "lucky stone," much in the same way that a farmer puts a smooth pebble into his milk pails, or a sailor nails a horseshoe on to the heel of the bowsprit of his ship. It is certain they have never been used as an implement or tool; for in all the known specimens none have been found showing signs of wear or marks of abrasion. These balls are very diverse in regard to the number of lobes, or panels, into which the surface is divided; some have such a large number that the projections take the form of little nut-like knobs, giving the ball

the appearance of a gigantic mulberry. This specimen is divided into four panels, is made of reddish-grey Peterhead granite. Its diameter is three and a quarter inches, and its weight exactly twenty-two ounces.

Mr. Oxley exhibited another object of which he said: It does not lay claim to great antiquity, but is nevertheless old and worthy of a moment's consideration. It is a glass muller, and its purpose was in all probability for smoothing linen, and the immediate ancestor of the flat iron. These mullers, or smoothers, were in use for centuries, probably from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth, and must have been in common usage throughout that period. It is a singular fact that they are now seldom to be met with, this being only the second specimen that I have seen in seven or eight years' searching.



*One-fifth full size.*

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*Tuesday, October 20th*, 1885.

A special meeting was held at the Manchester Grammar School. The members assembled in the library, where some interesting books were placed for examination.

Mr. Joseph Hall exhibited a collection of portraits of former Grammar School boys, and gave an interesting description of them.

Mr. W. H. Guest exhibited the MS. record containing accounts of all the anniversary dinners. It contains the

signatures of each scholar and invited guest attending from the beginning. The first dinner was held on 24th September, 1781. The dinners were continued annually down to that on the 12th October, 1864, being the 83rd annual reunion. From the year 1865 to the year 1878 inclusive no dinners were held; they were resumed in 1879, when Mr. J. H. P. Leresche took the chair on the 8th January; they have since been continued annually.

Mr. Charles Goodyear exhibited the documents (now preserved at the Lancashire Independent College) used in a suit in Chancery, brought by Mr. Mark Philips and others against the Trustees of the Grammar School, between 1835 and 1849.

The members afterwards proceeded to the chemical theatre, when Mr. Oliver Heywood was voted to the chair.

Mr. John Eglington Bailey then read a paper on Former head masters of the school (see p. 134).

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

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*Saturday, October 24th*, 1885.

A largely-attended meeting was held at Owens College to inspect the library and the book rarities contained therein, and to hear a description of them from the librarian, Mr. J. Taylor Kay, who also read a dissertation on ancient manuscripts, with a description of the process of their manufacture in the Middle Ages.

In the unavoidable absence of the Principal, Professor Ward welcomed the Society and presided during the reading of the paper, accompanied by Mr. Oliver Heywood and Professors Cullingworth and Wilkins.

The library was established in 1851, and contains thirty-nine thousand five hundred volumes. It contains a valuable philological collection, including an oriental library presented by the late Mr. Samuel Robinson, of Wilmslow; a splendid biblical and historical collection, a good propor-

tion of which were a legacy by Bishop Lee, the first Bishop of Manchester; a good chemical library, including the collections of the late Dr. Henry and the late Dr. Angus Smith. There are also fair collections of books in natural history, the fine arts, the useful arts, and philosophy.

Mr. J. Taylor Kay, having submitted for inspection a number of manuscript and other books, proceeded to say that one of the most wonderful things to be observed in a close study of the subject is the change of fashion in writing and printing in every country and in every age. Any person with discrimination will be able to see a distinct change in the style of writing: its general appearance, the shapes of letters, the separation of words, the pointing, and the ornamentation of the manuscripts, in every language in the course of fifty years. This is also observable in the case of printing, as anyone will see who will compare the books of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, or even note the great changes in printing of the last fifty years. A rich fund of interesting antiquarian information is to be obtained from this source. For instance, the neglect of the manufacture of parchment and vellum and the general low state of literature is indicated by the palimpsests and the degenerate writing of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; and the revival of learning owed much to the real practical value of the necessity of creating a library by transcribing the authors wanted. Abbots, priors, and other dignitaries of the church we find engaged in this work, besides the ordinary kalligraphoi (fair writers) and tachygraphoi (swift writers) engaged in connection with the monasteries and the large libraries. The monasteries seem, in many instances, to have made the production of copies of books a necessary part of their business, and probably the invention of printing was one of the great influences in their rapid decline. It was the custom in the so-called dark ages to publicly expose lists of MSS. as a modern bookseller does his printed catalogue. These lists expressed the number of pages each contained, the terms on which they

might be bought, consulted, perused, or copied. To purchase was not within the ability of many. They became objects of splendid luxury. In the Capitulary of Charlemagne it is enacted that monks should be entitled to the skins of animals taken in hunting, to make covers for their books. In times less remote, as the demand for books increased, and as public schools and universities were formed, besides such as were claustral, secular scribes were established universally and became a numerous body. Not only men but women were thus occupied. The writing materials of the monks were the style, parchment, ink, penknives, chalk, and pumice stone for rubbing the parchment, awls to mark the lines, and a ruler and a plummet, the last being used as a weight to keep down the vellum, which we know would be apt to curl up. Mr. Kay described the scriptorium, or reading room, attached to the monasteries, and referring to the scarcity of writing material in the earlier times of the world, said this circumstance doubtless made the Greek and Latin classics what they are. We are much too diffuse now-a-days; we have too much paper.

The book rarities of the library were subsequently shown and commented upon.

On the motion of the Rev. J. E. Odgers, seconded by the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, a vote of thanks was passed to Professor Ward and the College authorities.

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*Friday, November 6th,* 1885.

Meeting in the Chetham Library. Mr. W. E. A. Axon in the chair.

Sir Charles Hoghton, Bart., sent for the inspection of the members a collection of modern stone implements from New Guinea and the district, which were described by Mr. Charles Heape.

Mr. R. Hanby exhibited some dress vests of the last century, presented to the Chetham College by Susannah Georgina Lloyd.

Mr. George C. Yates (Honorary Secretary) read a paper contributed by the Rev. Monsignor Gradwell, on the Early History of Lancashire as told in the Local Names of Places.

Monsignor Gradwell said at the outset that he submitted his paper with diffidence, as the delicate state of his health made him a solitary student, and he had moreover no knowledge of the group of languages, the ancient British, Irish, and Gaelic from which so many of the Lancashire place-names were derived. The Irish and British Celts, he said, have left their marks in Lancashire. Bare and Slyne, on the shores of Morecambe Bay, are unquestionably Irish. The British, Welsh, or Cymri followed, and had a large share in the naming of the mountains, rivers, and seas of the county. Lune, Ribble, and Mersey are all Celtic, and mean the white, the fair, and the sea rivers. Words beginning with Pen—such as Pennine, Pendle, and Penwortham—show a Celtic origin, though the "wortham" in the last was a Norman addition, and was originally "verdant," Penverdant meaning the green hill. Morecambe, Windermere, and Grasmere are Celtic. The names of the towns were chiefly given by the Romans. Names derived from Ecclesia—such as Eccles, Eccleston, and Eccles Rigg—told plainly of Roman Christianity. The native Celts succeeded to the Romans in 430, and were not superseded by the Angles or Saxons for over two hundred years. In the ninth century the Danes displaced or overawed the Saxons, and some remarkable traces of the Danish occupation of Lancashire still exist, such as the names of Wigan, Liverpool, Nateby, Stanziker, and many others. The Norwegians came from the Isle of Man, and are responsible for many names, particularly in the Lake Country.

The Revs. E. F. Letts and J. E. Odgers, and Messrs. Robert Langton, William Norbury, Edward Kirk, and J. Taylor Kay having each said a few words,

The Chairman, in closing the discussion, said he inclined to the opinion that many of the etymologies suggested in the paper were not scientific. The Celtic element of Lan-

cashire was an important one, and he thought the writer of the paper was wise in laying stress upon that fact; but he (Mr. Axon) did not think Monsignor Gradwell was aware of the literature of the subject. There were three important papers that he or anyone else interested in the matter would do well to read, namely, the Rev. John Davies on "The Races of Lancashire as shown in the Names of Places;" Dr. R. G. Latham on "The Language Spoken in Britain during the Roman Domination;" and Professor W. Boyd Dawkins on "The Conquest of South Lancashire."

Mr. Henry H. Sales read a paper entitled "A Stray Leaf in the History of Manchester," which was an elaborate account of the opposition to Pitt's Fustian Tax of 1784. In the July of that year, William Pitt, Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, then only twenty-six years old, proposed to levy a tax on cotton and wool, or on some of the manufactures of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester. Ultimately an Act was passed imposing "certain duties on cotton stuff bleached or dyed in Great Britain, and on licences for bleaching and dyeing the same." The proposal met with the most spirited opposition from the "manufacturers and printers of calicoes, cottons, linens, and silks handkerchiefs" of the town. Their opposition was ineffectual in preventing the passing of the Act, but the men of Manchester continued their agitation, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining its repeal, which was celebrated with general rejoicings, compared with which the ship canal demonstrations were insignificant. Mr. Sales said that he was indebted for his facts to a carefully-prepared contemporary account of the agitation in the handwriting of Mr. James Whitaker, brother of the historian of Manchester, which had recently been presented to the Manchester Free Library by Sir Thomas Baker. The paper has been printed in full in the *Textile Recorder* for November and December, 1885.

Mr. George Esdaile exhibited a cross section of the Chester Road, for about three-quarters of a mile to the west

of the Dog and Partridge Hotel, at Stretford, which he took when the ground was open a few months previously, for the purpose of constructing a new main drain. It gave the present macadam, beneath it a boulder road, and below that a wattle road consisting of brushwood laid upon the running sand and covered by ling and gorse, specimens of each of which were placed upon the table.

Mr. Esdaile then read a paper on the Romans at Stretford. He gave extracts from Whitaker's *Manchester* (1771, chap. vi., pp. 171-3), wherein the boundaries of the Roman camp, called by Bertram "Fines Maximæ et Flaviæ," were laid down. The reader, assuming that Stretford was the summer camp as Manchester was that for the winter, had prepared plans showing that if the same number of troops had to be accommodated at Stretford as at Manchester, the camps must be of the same size; extended the area as given by Whitaker to a footpath which at one time was four hundred yards long and at right angles to Chester Road, leading in a straight line almost up to Edge House, but curving to the west to continue for some distance before joining Hawthorn Lane. The Chester Road, formerly Watling Street, formed the via principalis of the Stretford camp, the remaining third part of which extended northwards from Chester Road for about two hundred and fifty yards. The canal and railway (Altrincham and South Junction) cross the area named above, and, in the construction of the canal, evidence was given to show that Brindley had utilised enormous quantities of worked stone, which could only have been made for some massive work, such as the walls of a camp would require for doorways and gates. An object of much antiquarian interest was mentioned as found by the banksmen during a recent reconstruction of the canal bank near Water-meetings. It consisted of a large tile twenty-three inches square by three inches thick, with an inscription upon it. The men could only read L E G; the rest was not understood by them. the tile was reburied near where it was found. There have

been numerous finds of thin bricks and of a sewer, which might be that which ran down the Via Prætoria from the Valetudinarium. This sewer was also made of thin bricks, and only a part of it was disturbed where the foundations of a new house intersected it.

Several questions were put to the reader of the paper as to the stones mentioned and their nature, which was considered to be similar to those from the quarries at Lymm; and as to the size of the camp, which Mr. Esdaile said must be of eighty-six acres to correspond with the various camps at Chester, Leicester, Lincoln, Bath, Manchester, and other places, where a hypocaust as a part or range of baths had been found. Commencing with *Chester*, which, from having been the depôt of the XX. Legion, Mr. Esdaile presumed to be best adapted for the experiment, he found that the length and breadth of two thousand three hundred and twenty feet by one thousand six hundred and twenty feet are given in the distance from the Phœnix Tower to Newgate (Nova Porta), and from Phœnix Tower to Morgan's Mount, the parallelogram being completed by the drawing of two imaginary lines at right angles to the lines last mentioned. The east gate and the north gate are in the correct relative positions, but the city having been extended on the south and west, the gates on those sides do not now exist; but at the south on the imaginary line from Newgate westward, there have been discovered in the garden of the Probate Court, in Whitefriars, notably the foundations of walls fifteen feet thick, confirming the supposition. The base of the wall near the north gate is also of the same thickness. Then on the site of the Valetudinarium, and close to the Via Prætoria (Bridge Street), at the corner of Feathers Lane, has been discovered a hypocaust, the remains of which are now deposited in the Water Tower Garden much in the same order they were found in. At *Bath*, on the same relative site, at the corner of the Via Prætoria (Stall Street) and York Street, has been opened up (by Drs. Sutherland, Spry, and Major Davis, 1763-1884)

a (No. 1) hypocaust, a range of baths, and another (No. 2) hypocaust, at a point beyond the range of baths and furthest from Stall Street. The sites of the (mediæval) city gates on the north, south, and east occupy the same relative positions as the Prætorian and the dexter and sinister Principalis do in the scheme of Hyginus. In *Lincoln* (Gough's Camden, II. 257, found in 1739 at a depth of thirteen feet), at the corner of Bail-Gate and the Exchequer Gate was discovered a hypocaust, occupying the same relative position with regard to the three gates of the city, and with the lines of wall running on the east and south sides as those in Chester. In *Leicester*, on the same relative site, at the corner of Black-Friars Lane and High Cross Street, a hypocaust was found (Nichol's *Leicester*, I., p. 11) in 1667-8, also relatively posited with regard to the three gates. In *Malmesbury*, the "Bladonia?" of Canon Jackson, there was a hypocaust removed by Dr. Jennings (still living), which occupied the same relative position as that in Chester, and the mediæval walls of the town on three sides follow the presumed lines and enclose an area of similar dimensions as that of the camp given by Hyginus (Antwerp, 1607-1621, and the edition by Scheel, 1660), which consisted of an area of eighty-six (imperial) acres, measuring two thousand three hundred and twenty feet by one thousand six hundred and twenty feet *inclusive*, within the counterscarp of the ditch, with three gates—the Prætorian, the dexter and the sinister Principalia, each at a distance of about seven hundred and sixty-five feet from a central point (groma) in the Via Principalis; and a fourth gate, the Decuman, situate about one thousand four hundred and sixty-five feet from the groma. At a point in the Via Prætoria, almost midway between the groma and the Prætorian Gate (advancing towards the latter), was situated the Valetudinarium on the left and the Veterinarium on the right; and as the hygienic and curative methods of the Romans to a great extent consisted of bathing in its various forms, there should be found remains of buildings of the

character of baths and hypocausts within the space allotted to the Valetudinarium. Mr. Esdaile showed that in Thompson's *History of Leicester* the Roman camp there was stated to have covered an area enclosed by two sides of six hundred and sixty and eight hundred and eighty yards respectively, and therefore of one hundred and twenty acres.

It was about nine o'clock when Mr. Esdaile had finished reading his paper, which was illustrated by a series of large diagrams. Some of the members had left the meeting, and although several gentlemen spoke there was not that discussion which the importance of the subject demanded. This was pointed out by one or two of the speakers, who expressed a hope that the matter would again be brought before the members and fairly discussed, a suggestion which was greeted with approval.

Mr. Esdaile, replying to Mr. Albert Nicholson, said he found some pieces of brick which he thought were of too trivial a nature to bring to the meeting.

Mr. A. Nicholson said he had lived in the neighbourhood of Stretford for seven or eight years. There were gentlemen who had resided in the locality for a very long period, and who were interested in antiquarian matters, but he had not heard that any Roman remains had ever been found there. If any discoveries had been made he thought they would have been recorded. He should have very great doubts himself about the existence of the Roman camp. He assumed that Mr. Esdaile had read the authorities on the subject, all of whom seemed to be against his theory.

Mr. Bowden thought that if Mr. Esdaile could find the tile which he mentioned in his paper it might throw some light on the subject.

The Chairman said the great hiatus in the case was the absence of Roman remains, and therefore, till Mr. Esdaile could find some actual evidence in the shape of discoveries, he thought the members could not go from the verdict of "not proven."

Mr. Esdaile said he had found some pieces of brick, but did not bring them. However he would continue his investigations, and endeavour to discover any Roman remains that might be in existence.

New member elected: William Daulby Warburton, M.A.

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*Saturday, November 14th*, 1885.

The members visited Reddish, where a meeting was held in the Houldsworth School, Reddish Green, under the presidency of the vicar, the Rev. Addison Crofton, who read a paper on the "Folklore Songs and Ring Games," which was illustrated by the Reddish Maypole dancers. Among the noticeable items in the programme was the old play of St. George, according to the Preston version, which was performed by a number of boys belonging to the church choir, who were dressed in the quaint costumes of the period represented. A number of songs were also effectively rendered, amongst which were the Pace-egg song, "O valiants;" the two Swinton May songs, "All in this pleasant evening;" and the Cornish "Ha lan tow;" also one or two carols, including the Walmersley version of "A virgin unspotted;" and lastly a representation of the plaiting of the Maypole in various patterns by the children. The reader of the paper pointed out the probable origin and subsequent history of these "folk-lore songs and games," making his words a running comment on the acts of the performers.

Tea was afterwards served to the company in an adjoining room, after which Mr. J. Holme Nicholson proposed a vote of thanks to the Rev. Mr. Crofton for his paper, and the interesting way in which his remarks were illustrated. Mr. Bannister seconded this, and the proceedings were brought to a close.

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*Saturday, November 21st*, 1885.

EXPLORATIONS AT TROY.

A meeting was held in the library at Owens College. The chair was taken by Principal Greenwood.

Professor W. Boyd Dawkins delivered an interesting address on Dr. Schliemann's explorations at Hissarlik, which he described in a lucid manner, and illustrated by means of diagrams on the blackboard, and by exhibiting a collection of objects found by the late Dr. Edward Moss during the progress of those explorations. He described the successive layers of ruins, seven in number, which occupy the top of the small eminence of rock to a depth of sixty-two and a half feet, the newest being Greek, and full of Greek antiquities, while the rest belong to a period stretching back from the borders of history into the dim prehistoric past. The evidence in favour of this having been the site of the Homeric Troy, and the spot on which has been centred the most beautiful poetry of the Greek and Roman literatures, was discussed and shown to be complete. Most of the prehistoric ruins are fire marked, and are associated with remains such as human skeletons and the like which imply that the fortress within which they stand had been repeatedly sacked. It was pointed out that gold ornaments of singular beauty, and articles of Assyrian and Egyptian workmanship occurred in association with polished stone axes and flint implements belonging to the Neolithic stage of civilization, as well as bronze, copper, and silver articles, and vast quantities of pottery of various kinds. The domestic animals of the inhabitants of this ancient site consisted of the hog, horse, dog, and the small Celtic short-horn, a breed of cattle introduced into Europe in the neolithic age, and still represented by the small and beautiful Scotch and Welsh cattle. On measuring the site of the ancient fortress it is found to be astonishingly small, being considerably less in area than the site of Owens College, or two hundred and forty feet from north to south,

and not more than four hundred and ten feet from east to west. The date of the third stratum of ruins, considered by Dr. Schliemann to represent the Troy of Homer, was proved by the articles discovered to be not much older than the year 1100 B.C., when the Assyrian influence began to be felt in the Mediterranean. The houses were built in the same way, in two stories with stone and clay, as the peasants of the district still build their houses. Professor Dawkins then pointed out the position which archæology occupies between geology and history, and afterwards showed to the members the collections in the museum which illustrate the development of civilization in Europe in the palæolithic, neolithic, bronze, and iron ages, in the last of which the record is taken up by the pen of the historian.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was passed on the motion of Archdeacon Anson, seconded by the Rev. E. F. Letts.

The members then adjourned to the courtroom, where tea had been kindly provided by the college authorities.

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*Friday, December 4th*, 1885.

Meeting at the Chetham Library, Mr. W. Thompson Watkin presiding.

One of the deeds, lately presented by the Earl of Derby to the Chetham College, was exhibited by Mr. Hanby; and Mr. Tallent-Bateman, at the request of the Secretary, inspected the deed, and reported that it was dated 2nd August, 1654, and was a "Counterpart" (signed by the grantees only) of a Conveyance executed by the Right Hon. Charles, Earl of Derby, in favour of George Chetham, of Clayton, Esquire, and Edward Chetham, of Chetham, gentleman (trustees under the will of Humphrey Chetham, founder of the college), of the site and building of the college, in pursuance of a certain agreement for sale and purchase. The amount of the purchase money was not

stated in the deed, the grant being made "in consideration of a certain competent and valuable sum . . . already paid" by the grantees. Mr. Bateman pointed out several departures, in the deed, from the usual form, and referred to the particular mention of Dorothea Eleanor, Countess of Derby, wife of the grantor. Mr. Bateman, in reply to an inquiry, stated that, with the slight exceptions noticed by him, the deed was prepared in the long form of conveyance then lately introduced in English conveyancing, and now only recently exchanged for a more concise style of draftsmanship.

Mr. Hanby also exhibited the original MS. of "Christians, awake," in the handwriting of John Byrom, and a rosary found many years ago in one of the stalls in the Manchester Cathedral.

Mr. W. Wareing Faulder exhibited a Britano-Romano cinerary urn found at Darwen.

Mr. Geo. Esdaile showed several stoppers of urns, one from a Roman camp in Scotland, the other from Stretford; nine Saxon sceatta found whilst excavating the foundation of St. Matthew's, Campfield, in 1821.

Mr. William Harrison read a paper on "The Old House of Correction at Hunt's Bank." (See page 89.)

Mr. Edward Kirk read a paper on "The Roman Roads in Delamere Forest" (see page 111), which he illustrated by photographs, diagrams, and a map.

The Chairman said that Mr. Kirk had rendered good service to archæology. It was the first time that the road between Condate and Deva had been satisfactorily traced. He also pointed out the great interest in the remains at Nettleford and Lobslack. He considered the paper a very valuable contribution to the Roman topography of the country.

New members elected: Messrs. Thomas Letherbrow, Joseph Ashworth, and F. J. Collinson.

## *Wednesday, December 9th*, 1885.

### CONVERSAZIONE.

A conversazione was held at the Manchester Town Hall, by kind permission of the Mayor. There was a large attendance of members and friends. On the tables of the Mayor's Parlour, where the conversazione was held, there were displayed a large number of antiquarian objects of interest. In the absence of Lord Egerton of Tatton, the chair was occupied by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S.

The Chairman said the first great authority who addressed the Society under whose auspices they were met—when the Society was quite young, indeed just after it was born, and when it was in swaddling clothes—was Dr. Evans. The next great authority who addressed the Society when they were grown out of their long clothes and into their short clothes again was Professor Freeman. And now, when they were rapidly approaching that stage in their existence which was characterized by the exuberance of youth, they had that stage marked by the presence amongst them of a link connecting Dr. Evans with Professor Freeman. They had with them that night not only Dr. Evans' eldest son, but the husband of the eldest daughter of Professor Freeman. There was therefore a natural sequence and a sort of poetical beauty in Mr. Evans being with them that night.

Mr. Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A., then delivered an address on "Megalithic Monuments in their Sepulchral Relation." (See page 1.)

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Evans for his lecture, on the motion of Mr. Charles Hardwick, seconded by Canon C. W. Woodhouse, and a like compliment to the Mayor for the use of his parlour, on the motion of Professor Williamson, seconded by Mr. Jno. Robert Barlow, terminated the proceedings.

The objects exhibited included the following:—

Lord Crawford: Stone and bronze implements.

Sir Charles de Hoghton, Bart.: A collection of stone and bone implements, clubs, paddles, spears, shell ornaments, &c., from New Guinea and the district.

Dr. Renaud, F.S.A.: A locket worn by Mary Queen of Scots, and "The Kynges Psalmes" and "The Queenes Prayers, 1566," "The Alphabet of Prayers," by James Canceller, 1570.

Mr. Charles Heape: An Egyptian mural tablet from Thebes of the time of the eighteenth dynasty (1360 B.C.).

Mr. Charles Schwabe: A collection of rare Japanese enamels and bronzes.

Dr. H. Colley March: Two hundred minute flints from Rochdale district.

Mr. W. T. Andrew: Examples of silver coins used by the Britons at the time of Cæsar's invasion.

Mr. N. Heywood: Case of silver coins.

Mr. W. W. Faulder: Rapier from Edge Hill.

Mr. Fred Scott: Copy of the grant of arms of the Plumbers' Company, London, 1588.

Mr. Geo. C. Yates: Bronze and stone implements, a collection of flint scrapers, awls, flakes, &c., from the Yorkshire wolds; also a collection of shell necklaces and other personal ornaments from New Guinea and district.

Mr. Geo. Esdaile: Twenty trays of remains from Westbury, Brokenborough, Malmesbury, and Stonehenge, containing specimens of stones and flints from Stonehenge, and Roman and Romano-British pottery, bones, antlers, teeth human and otherwise from the former places; one fragment of Samian with a lead rivet still remaining with which the vessel had been repaired.

Mr. Albert Nicholson: Jacobite relics.

# REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

# REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council, in presenting the Third Annual Report, have the satisfaction of congratulating the members on the work of the past year, as well as on the present position of the Society.

The roll of the Society shows that there are now two Honorary, twenty-seven Life, and two hundred and forty-one Ordinary Members, making a total of two hundred and seventy.

Three of the original members have been removed by death, viz., Lord Wilton, Dean Howson, and Mr. Joseph Sidebotham.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Wilton, the third peer of that title, died at Melton Mowbray on January 18th 1885, aged fifty-two, and was buried at Prestwich on the 23rd of that month. He manifested his interest in the Society by becoming a life member on its formation, but the state of his health prevented him from furthering its work in any other way.

The Very Rev. John Saul Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester, died at Bournemouth on December 15th, 1885. His name will live in literature as the author, in conjunction with the Rev. W. J. Coneybeare, of *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul;* and as the writer of several interesting books on Chester and the river Dee. The admirable restoration of Chester Cathedral was carried out during his administration as dean, and was due mainly to his personal influence. When the members visited Chester, in 1883, Dean Howson charmed them by the geniality and learning which he displayed when acting as conductor in the cathedral and when taking part at the meeting in the Town Hall.

Joseph Sidebotham, F.S.A., F.R.A.S., died at his residence, Erlesdene, Bowdon, on May 30th, 1885, aged sixty-two. He was

a native of Apethorne, near Hyde. He was a man of high scientific attainments, and an active member of several Manchester and London societies. When our own Society was formed, his taste for archæology led him to join it, but his failing health precluded him from taking that share in its affairs which he would otherwise have done.

The most important meeting during the summer was a three days' visit to Ulverston and district; and, by the kind help of the local committee, the meeting was in every way a great success.

Two other important meetings were held at Haigh Hall and Tatton Park, at both of which places the members were hospitably received and entertained; at the former by Lord Crawford, and at the latter by Lord Egerton, the President, and Lady Egerton.

At the Owens College on two occasions, at the Lancashire Independent College, the Liverpool Free Library, and at the Manchester Grammar School interesting meetings were held, and at each the members experienced the hospitality of the authorities.

Well-attended meetings were held at Delamere Forest, Turton Tower, Whalley Abbey, Hoghton Tower, Prestbury, and Reddish.

Evening meetings were also held at Middleton Church, Reddyshore Scout Gate, and Eccles Parish Church. At Eccles the party was entertained by the local members.

The winter meetings, held in the Reading Room of Chetham's Hospital, have been exceedingly well attended, and the numerous papers read have been of an interesting and varied nature.

The following is a list of the papers, short communications, and addresses :—

1885.

Feb. 6.—Robert Langton. The Remains of Norman Architecture in the Neighbourhood of Manchester.

,, 6.—James C. Scholes. Bolton Bibliography.

,, 6.—W. S. Churchill. Modern Instances of an Erased Coinage.

March 6.—Rev. J. Herbert Kidson, M.A. The Patron Saint of Prestwich and the Old Deeds of the Church.

,, 6.—J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. Marriages between Children in the Sixteenth Century.

,, 6.—E. Hadfield. Clifton Hall.

,, 6.—Albert Nicholson. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.

,, 10.—Henry Taylor. The Minstrels' Gallery at Chetham Hospital.

,, 10.—W. E. A. Axon. Chetham's Hospital.

,, 31.—John E. Bailey, F.S.A. Mottram in Longdendale in Tudor Times.

Mar. 31.—George Esdaile. Examples of Ruling the Planets.
April 14.—Ernest C. Thomas. Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon.*
,, 14.—John E. Bailey. The Vaux Documents.
,, 18.—Charles Goodyear. Nonconformity in Lancashire.
May 16.—E. Kirk. Roman Road at Delamere.
,, 19.—Rev. Addison Crofton, M.A. Nico Ditch; Peel Moat; Old London Lane.
,, 23.—J. C. Scholes. Turton Tower and Turton Church.
,, 23.—J. E. Bailey. Inventory of Humphrey Chetham's Effects at Turton Tower.
,, 23.—George Esdaile. The Chetham Pedigree.
,, 28.—John Fell. Castle of Piel.
,, 28.—W. O. Roper. Gleaston Castle.
,, 28.—Rev. L. R. Ayre. Moat Hill.
,, 28.— ,, Aldingham Church.
,, 28.— ,, Druids' Temple, Birkrigg.
,, 30.— ,, Swarthmoor Hall.
,, 30.— ,, Friends' Meeting House.
,, 28.—H. Fletcher Rigge. Cark Hall.
,, 28.— ,, Cartmell Priory Church.
,, 28.— ,, Hampsfield Hall.
,, 30.—Rev. C. W. Bardsley. Ulverston Parish Church.
June 4.—Dr. Colley March. Reddyshore Scout Gate.
,, 13.—Rev. E. F. Letts. Whalley Abbey.
,, 13.—John E. Bailey. A Whalley Deed.
,, 13.—S. E. Haworth. Whalley Church.
,, 30.—Robert Langton. Middleton Church.
,, 30.—George Esdaile. Lords of the Manor of Middleton.
,, 30.—Giles Shaw. Middleton Church and School.
July 4.—Lord Crawford. Treasures at Haigh Hall.
,, 18.—Sir James A. Picton. Liverpool Free Library.
,, 25.—Lord Egerton of Tatton. Eastern Arms.
,, 30.—E. Kirk. Eccles Parish.
Aug. 15.—A. Hewitson. Hoghton Tower.
,, 29.—James Croston. Prestbury Church.
,, 29.—Dr. Renaud. Norman Church at Prestbury.
Oct. 9.— ,, Monumental Slab from Glossop Church.
,, 9.—N. Heywood. Patches and Battersea Patch-Boxes.
,, 9.—W. Norbury. Pownall Fee Old Parish Chest.
,, 20.—J. E. Bailey. Former Masters of the Manchester Grammar School.
,, 24.—J. Taylor Kay. Book-Rarities in the Owens College Library.
Nov. 6.—Monsignor Gradwell. The Early History of Lancashire as told in Names of Places.
,, 6.—H. H. Sales. A Stray Leaf from the History of Manchester.
,, 6.—G. Esdaile. The Romans at Stretford.
,, 14.—Rev. A. Crofton. Folk-Lore Songs and Ring Games.
,, 21.—Prof. W. B. Dawkins. Explorations at Hissarlik.

Dec. 4.—W. Harrison. The Old House of Correction at Hunt's Bank.
,, 4.—E. Kirk. Roman Roads in Delamere Forest.
,, 9.—A. J. Evans. Megalithic Monuments.

A Conversazione was held on 9th December at the Manchester Town Hall, which, by the courtesy of the Mayor, was placed at the disposal of the members. Mr. Arthur J. Evans, M.A., F.S.A. (Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), delivered an address on "Megalithic Monuments in their Sepulchral Relation."

Many archæological objects were exhibited at the Conversazione, as well as at the ordinary meetings. These will be recorded in the annual volume.

The thanks of the Council have been voted to Rev. J. H. Stanning, for the trouble he has taken in editing the first two volumes of the Society's *Transactions*. Mr. Stanning's work has been done in a most admirable manner, and the Council are exceedingly sorry that he has been compelled, by pressure of other duties, to relinquish the editorship. The task of preparing the third volume of the *Transactions* has been kindly undertaken by Mr. C. W. Sutton.

The Treasurer's statement shows that the balance in hand is £90. 4s. 5d., and in addition there is £100 invested in the Manchester Corporation Stock.

The hearty thanks of the Society are due to the feoffees of the Chetham Hospital, for their great kindness in granting the use of the Reading Room in the Chetham Library for the winter meetings. Like acknowledgments are also due to Lord Crawford, Lord Egerton of Tatton, Sir Charles de Hoghton, Bart., Sir James Picton, Sir James Ramsden, John Fell, Esq., Mayor of Barrow, Colonel Ridehalgh, Principal Greenwood, Principal Scott, and others.

In conclusion, the Council venture to believe that the Society has taken a deep root in the affection of its members, and that a long lease of life is assured to it. The Council feel that they may reasonably entertain the anticipation that the public usefulness of the Society will be further developed, and that it will continue to bring together, for their common advantage, those who love to contemplate and are desirous of preserving the relics of the past.

## W. A. COPINGER (HON. TREASURER) IN ACCOUNT WITH THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

**Dr.** *General Statement of Income and Expenditure from 7th May, 1885, to 31st December, 1885.* **Cr.**

| 1885. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 7. | To Balance at Bank... .. ... ... ... | 93 | 8 | 9 |
| | ,, 92 Subscriptions at 10s. 6d. ... ... | 48 | 6 | 0 |
| | ,, 1 ,, at 10s. ... ... ... | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | ,, 28 ,, at £1. 1s. 0d. ... | 29 | 8 | 0 |
| | ,, 7 Life ,, at £5. 5s. 0d. ... | 36 | 15 | 0 |
| | ,, 1 ,, ,, at £5. 15s. 6d. ... | 5 | 15 | 6 |
| | ,, Half-year's Dividend on £100 invested with the Manchester Corporation ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 11 | 5 |
| | ,, Interest allowed by Bankers to 20th December, 1885 ... ... ... ... | 0 | 18 | 1 |
| | | £216 | 12 | 9 |
| 1885. | | | | |
| Dec. 31. | To Balance brought down ... ... ... | £90 | 4 | 5 |

| 1885. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec. 31. | To Hon. Sec., Postages, Clerical Assistance and Sundries ... ... ... ... | 19 | 15 | 4 |
| | ,, F. A. Whaite, Postage and Stationery | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| | ,, Roberts & Sons, Printing and Stationery ... ... ... ... ... ... | 12 | 17 | 5 |
| | ,, Printing Annual *Transactions*, vol. ii. | 67 | 11 | 0 |
| | ,, Hire of Room, Memorial Hall... ... | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| | ,, Excursion and Soirée Expenses ... | 7 | 16 | 11 |
| | ,, Collector's Commission ... ... ... | 3 | 14 | 2 |
| | ,, Plumbers, Leech Bros. ... ... ... | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| | ,, J. E. Bailey for Lau. Vaux documents | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| | ,, Balance at Bankers (31st Dec., 1885) | 90 | 4 | 5 |
| | | £216 | 12 | 9 |

The sum of £100 is invested with the Manchester Corporation in the names of Trustees of the Society.

7th January, 1886,

Vouched and found correct, subject to report to Annual Meeting.

C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN,
NATHAN HEYWOOD, } AUDITORS.

# RULES.

*Preamble.*—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and for the study of History, Architecture, Manners, Customs, Arts, and Traditions, and especially those relating to Lancashire and Cheshire.

*Interpretation Clause.*—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

*Name.*—This Society shall be called the "Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society."

*Election of Members.*—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another, and be balloted for at any ordinary meeting. One black ball in five to exclude. The Council shall have power of election during the time when the ordinary meetings of the Society are not being held. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription; and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members, unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription. Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society and to introduce a visitor. Each member shall receive, free of charge, the ordinary publications of the Society. The Council shall have power to remove

any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention on or before the 30th day of November in that year.

*Honorary Members.*—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as Honorary Members.

*Honorary Local Secretaries.*—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

*Subscriptions.*—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

*Entrance Fee.*—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of ten shillings and sixpence in addition to his first year's subscription.

*Life Membership.*—A payment of five guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership. Such payments by life members shall be funded, suitably invested, and the interest only applied to the general purposes of the Society.

*Government.*—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, two Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy, by death or retirement, may be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary, by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

*Retiring President.*—Each retiring President shall retain his seat on the Council and become a Vice-President.

*Duties of Officers.*—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order.

His decision in all questions of precedence amongst speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents, it shall be competent for the members present to elect a Chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting.

The duties of the Hon. Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, to conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular, if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a report of the year's work, and after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

*Nominations for Council.*—The Council shall prepare a house list, to be printed and circulated amongst the members at least fourteen days previous to the annual meeting, together with a list of nominations made by any of the members, such nominations to be delivered to the Honorary Secretary not later than the 15th December in each year.

*Annual Meeting.*—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in January, at which the Report of the Council shall be submitted. The accounts of the Treasurer, having been previously audited, shall be presented; and the officers for the ensuing year shall be elected. In case of contest, the election shall be by ballot.

*Ordinary Meetings.*—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester, at Six p.m., on the first Friday of each month from *October* to *April* for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

*General Meetings.*—The Council may from time to time convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

*Exploration and Excavation.*—The Council may from time to

time make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

*Publications.*—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine.

*Property.*—The property of the Society shall be vested in the President, Treasurer, and Secretary for the time being.

*Alteration of Rules.*—These rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

# LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

| Date of Election. | |
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| March 21st, 1883. | Abram, W. A., F.R.H.S., Adelaide Terrace, Blackburn. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Agnew, W., M.P., Summer Hill, Pendleton. |
| July 26th, 1884. | Ainsworth, R. H., J.P., Smithills Hall, Bolton-le-Moors. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Andrew, Frank, Chester Square, Ashton-under-Lyne. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Andrew Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Andrew, Walter J., Moss Side, Ashton-under-Lyne. |
| July 25th, 1885. | Andrew, James Lawton, M.D., Mossley. |
| July 25th, 1885. | Andrew, James, The Avenue, Patricroft. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Anson, Ven. Archdeacon G. H. G., M.A., Birch Rectory, Rusholme. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Armitage, Benjamin, M.P., Halton Bank, Pendleton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Arnold, W. T., M.A., 226, Plymouth Grove, Manchester. |
| September 28th, 1883. | Ashby, Henry, M.D., M.R.C.S., 13, St. John's Street, Manchester. |
| April 15th, 1885. | *Ashworth, Edmund, J.P., Egerton Hall, Bolton-le-Moors. |
| December 4th, 1885. | Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury. |
| April 14th, 1885. | Atkinson, Rev. Canon, B.D., Rectory, Longsight. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Axon, W. E. A., M.R.S.L., Murray Street, Higher Broughton. |
| March 5th, 1886. | Bagshaw, Thomas, Eccles New Road, Salford. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Bailey, John Eglington, F.S.A., Egerton Villa, Stretford. |
| June 13th, 1885. | Bailey, Mrs. John E., Egerton Villa, Stretford. |

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| March 21st, 1883. | *Bailey, Alderman W. H., Summerfield, Eccles New Road, Eccles. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Baillie, Edmund J., F.L.S., Woodbine, Eaton Road, Chester. |
| June 9th, 1883. | Baker, Sir Thomas, Skerton House, Old Trafford. (Deceased.) |
| June 10th, 1886. | Ball, Thomas, Eccles. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Bannister, John, 44, Broadway, Salford. |
| January 11th, 1884. | Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton. |
| June 17th, 1884. | Barlow, Miss, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton-le-Moors. |
| June 13th, 1885. | Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Barraclough, Thomas, 8, King Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Bateman, C. T. Tallent, Cromwell Road, Stretford. |
| April 14th, 1885. | Baugh, Joseph, Edendale, Whalley Range. |
| July 30th, 1885. | Bayley, Charles W., 5, Polygon, Eccles. |
| June 26th, 1883. | Baynton, Alfred, Gilda Brook Park, Eccles. |
| January 29th, 1885. | Berry, Charles F., 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side. |
| December 7th, 1883. | Berry, James, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side. |
| May 22nd, 1886. | Binns, Henry, Dean's Villas, Swinton. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Bradbury, John, M.R.S.L., St. Mary's Gate, Manchester. |
| June 26th, 1883. | Bradsell, B. J. T., 12, Oswald Street, Hulme. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Bridgen, Thomas Edward, Oaklynne, Fallowfield. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Broadbent, Charles, The Hollies, Latchford. |
| May 7th, 1885. | *Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang. |
| September 28th, 1883. | Brocklehurst, Lieut.-Colonel T. U., Henbury Park, Macclesfield. |
| September 28th, 1883. | Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Brooks, Sir Wm. Cunliffe, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Barlow Hall, Manchester. |
| March 5th, 1886. | Buckley, George F., Linfitts Houses, Delph, Oldham. |
| May 22nd, 1886. | Bulkeley, E. W., F.R.H.S., Sumner Field, Didsbury. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Burton, Alfred, 37, Cross Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Burton, William E., 21, Chesnut Street, Hightown. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Carington, H. H. Smith, Brookfield House, Whaley Bridge. |
| May 2nd, 1885. | Carr, William, The Hollies, Newton Heath. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Christie, Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, Glenwood, Virginia Water, Staines. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Churchill, W. S., 24, Birch Lane, Manchester. |
| June 11th, 1886. | Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Clay, Charles, M.D., 101, Piccadilly, Manchester. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Colley, A. H. Davis, A.R.I.B.A., 48, King Street, Manchester. |

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| December 4th, 1885. | Collinson, F. J., 5, St. James' Square, Manchester. |
| January 11th, 1884. | Collmann, Charles, Briarfield, Park Road, Eccles. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Copinger, W. A., The Priory, Greenheys. |
| November 7th, 1884. | Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool. |
| March 21st, 1883. | †Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Creeke, Major A. B., Monkholme, Burnley. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Crofton, Rev. Addison, M.A., The Parsonage, Reddish Green, Stockport. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Crofton, H. T., 86, Brazennose Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Croston, James, F.S.A., Upton Hall, Prestbury. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Crowther, Joseph S., Endsleigh, Alderley Edge. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., 26, George Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Darbyshire, Alfred, F.R.I.B.A., Brazennose Street, Manchester. |
| September 28th, 1883. | *Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, F.R.S., F.S.A., Woodhurst, Fallowfield. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Dawkins, Mrs., Woodhurst, Fallowfield. |
| November 2nd, 1883. | Dearden, J. Griffith, Wytham-on-the-Hill, Bourne. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Derby, Right Hon. the Earl of, D.C.L., F.R.S., Knowsley, Prescot. |
| March 21st, 1883. | De Trafford, Sir Humphrey, Bart., Trafford Park, Manchester. (Deceased.) |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Doody, C. C., 7, Portland Street, Manchester. |
| January 15th, 1886. | Duncan, Dr. James, M.B., Ashton-under-Lyne. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Earwaker, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Pensarn, Abergele. |
| January 29th, 1885. | Ecroyd, William, Spring Cottage, Burnley. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Egerton, Hon. Algernon, Worsley Old Hall, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Egerton, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Entwisle, Thomas, Adswood House, Adswood, Stockport. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Esdaile, George, Rivington View, Stretford. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Evans, Joseph, Hurst House, Prescot. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank, Limited. |
| March 21st, 1883. | ffarington, Miss, Worden, Preston. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Faulder, W. Wareing, Ellerslie, Cheetham Hill. |

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| June 13th, 1885. | Fell, John, J.P., Mayor of Barrow, Dane Ghyll, Furness. |
| December 5th, 1884. | Finney, James, Solicitor, Bolton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Height, Rochdale. |
| March 31st, 1885. | *Foljambe, Cecil G. Saville, M.P., F.S.A., Cockglode, Ollerton, Newark. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Fox, R. Dacre, M.R.C.S., 62, Nelson Street, Oxford Road, Manchester. |
| February 6th, 1885. | French, Gilbert J., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton. |
| June 13th, 1885. | French, Mrs., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton. |
| June 13th, 1885. | French, Miss K., Newport Square, Bolton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Gill, Richard, *Examiner* Office, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Gillespie, Rev. Charles G. K., 39, Hall Street, Stockport. |
| December 7th, 1883. | Goldschmidt, Philip, Oldenburg House, Rusholme. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side. |
| May 7th, 1885. | Gradwell, Rev. Mgr., Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Grafton, F. W., M.P., Hope Hall, Manchester. |
| February 6th, 1885. | Grafton, Francis, Hope Hall, Manchester. |
| January 11th, 1884. | Grafton, Miss, Hope Hall, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Gratrix, Samuel, West Point, Whalley Range. |
| January 11th, 1884. | Gray, Henry, Leicester Square, London. |
| September 18th, 1885. | Greenhough, R., jun., Church Street, Leigh. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Greenwood, J. G., LL.D., The Owens College, Manchester. |
| April 2nd, 1886. | Grimshaw, William, Sale. |
| July 25th, 1885. | *Guest, Wm. H., 78, Cross Street, Manchester. |
| June 11th, 1886. | Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Hadfield, E., Harroll Terrace, Swinton. |
| November 7th, 1884. | Hall, James, 79, Fountain Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Hall, Major G. W., Marlborough Square, Salford. |
| October 9th, 1885. | Hampson, Francis, Platt Cottage, Rusholme. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Hardwick, Charles, 72, Talbot Street, Moss Side. |
| February 6th, 1885. | Harrison, William, 84, Shakspere Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Hartington, Right Hon. the Marquis of, M.P., Devonshire House, London. |
| September 29th, 1884. | Hartley, William, 24, Devonshire Street, Higher Broughton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Haworth, S. E., Worsley Road, Swinton. |
| December 7th, 1883. | Heape, Joseph R., 96, Tweedale Street, Rochdale. |
| June 13th, 1885. | Heape, Charles, Glebe House, Rochdale. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan. |
| March 31st, 1885. | Heathcote, Wm. Hy., 61, Avenham Lane, Preston. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Heginbotham, Henry, J.P., Stockport. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Herford, Edward, West Bank, Macclesfield. |

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| June 11th, 1886. | Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., Gatley Vicarage, Cheadle. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Heywood, Abel, jun., 56, Oldham Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Heywood, Oliver, J.P., Claremont, Manchester. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Hewitson, Anthony, *Chronicle* Office, Preston. |
| May 21st, 1883. | Hirst, John, J.P., F.R.M.S., Lad Castle, Dobcross, Saddleworth. |
| June 17th, 1884. | Hodgson, Edwin, 10, Bower Terrace, Droylsden. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Holden, Thomas, Springfield, Bolton. |
| January 11th, 1884. | *Houldsworth, W. H., M.P., Norbury Booths Hall, Knutsford. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Howard, Edward Carrington, Poynton Birches, Stockport. |
| March 7th, 1884. | Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A. Scot., Stamford Terrace, Ashton-under-Lyne. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Howorth, Henry H., F.S.A., Bentcliffe, Eccles. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Hughes, Charles, Cheetwood House, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton. |
| June 11th, 1886. | Ives, Miss, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Jackson, S., 56, Arkwright Street, Bolton. |
| September 28th, 1883. | Johnson, J. H., F.G.S., 73, Albert Road, Southport. |
| May 2nd, 1885. | *Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side. |
| September 28th, 1883. | Jordan, Thomas L., M.R.C.S., 60, Cecil Street, Greenheys. |
| May 2nd, 1885. | Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Kay, J. Taylor, South View, Platt Lane, Rusholme. |
| June 11th, 1886. | Kay, Thomas, J.P., Hillgate, Stockport. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Kirk, Edward, 159, Church St., Pendleton. (Deceased.) |
| March 21st, 1883. | Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester. |
| November 7th, 1884. | Koenig, Miss, Greenwalk, Bowdon. |
| November 2nd, 1883. | Lacey, Rev. E. C., M.A. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Langton, Robert, F.R.H.S., Albert Chambers, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Lathom, Right Hon. the Earl of, 41, Portland Place, W. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Lawton, Josh. F., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley. |
| July 18th, 1885. | *Lawton, Mrs., Stamford Villa, Altrincham. |
| June 11th, 1886. | Lawton, J. E. P., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Leech, Professor D. J., M.D., F.R.C.P., Elm House, Whalley Range. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range. |
| December 7th, 1883. | Leech, Miss M. L., Reede House, Flixton. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Lees, William, Egerton Villa, Heywood. |

December 4th, 1885. Letherbrow, Thos., Kennedy Grove Lane, Davenport, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Heath.
June 11th, 1886. Lever, Ellis, Culcheth Hall, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. *Lister, Charles, J.P., Agden Hall, Lymm.
March 21st, 1883. Lord, H., 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Lowe, John, F.R.I.B.A., 22, Mansfield Chambers, St. Ann's Square, Manchester.
September 4th, 1883. *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London.
November 7th, 1884. Lynam, C., F.R.I.B.A., Stoke-upon-Trent.

August 15th, 1885. *Makinson, W. G., Montrose Villa, Ashton-on-Ribble.
March 21st, 1883. March, H. Colley, M.D., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
May 20th, 1885. March, Mrs., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Martin, William Young, M.D., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton.
November 18th, 1884. Miller, William Pitt, Merlewood, Grange-over-Sands.
March 21st, 1883. Milner, George, 59a, Mosley Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Moorhouse, Frederick, Kingston Mount, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Morris, Claude J., The Mount, Altrincham.

March 21st, 1883. Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton.
June 26th, 1883. Newton, C. E., Roebuck Lane, Brooklands.
September 4th, 1883. Nicholson, Albert, 62, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Nicholson, J. Holme, M.A., Carill Drive, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. Norbury, William, Leigh.

July 26th, 1884. Oakley, Frank, Somerville, Pendleton, Manchester.
September 4th, 1883. O'Conor, Rev. W. A., B.A., Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
May 20th, 1885. Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, M.A., Horton, Bowdon.
May 22nd, 1886. Odgers, Mrs., Horton, Bowdon.
April 16th, 1886. †Owen, John, Kennedy Grove Lane, Davenport, Stockport.
April 2nd, 1886. *Owen, Major-General, R.A., 3, Caledonia Place, Clifton, Bristol.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, H. M., 97, Bridge Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, Thomas, The Woodlands, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.

July 26th, 1884. Paley, E. G., F.R.I.B.A., Lancaster.
May 22nd, 1886. Parkes, Rev. S. H., Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Parkinson, Richard, Barr Hill, Pendleton.
February 5th, 1886. Pattinson, J. P., B.A., 11a, Piccadilly.
March 21st, 1883. Pearson, George, Southside, Wilmslow.
September 4th, 1883. *Pearson, Thomas, Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.
May 4th, 1883. Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow.

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| September 4th, 1883. | Pen-Davis, Rev. W., B.A., St. Oswald's Grove, Manchester. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Pilkington, Alfred, Oakwood, Eccles. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Pink, William D., Leigh. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Pocklington, Rev. J. N., St. Michael's, Rectory, Hulme. |
| July 25th, 1885. | Posnett, W. A., Ratcliffe Road, Bolton. |
| March 5th, 1886. | Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Prestwich, James C., Leigh. |
| April 2nd, 1886. | Radford, W. Harold, The Haven, Whalley Range. |
| April 14th, 1885. | Redhead, R. Milne, F.L.S., Holden Clough, Bolton-by-Bowland, Clitheroe. |
| October 17th, 1884. | Reid, David, Bowerbank, Bowdon. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Reynolds, Rev. G. W., M.A., St. Mark's Rectory, Cheetham Hill. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Ridehalgh, Lieut.-Col., J.P., Fell Foot, Newby Bridge. |
| December 7th, 1883. | Rigge, George Wilson, Police Street, Manchester. |
| September 29th, 1884. | Rimmer, John H., M.A., L.L.M., Madeley, Newcastle, Staff. |
| June 11th, 1886. | Robertson, John, Stoneleigh, Lees, Oldham. |
| December 22nd, 1884. | Robinow, Max, Fallowfield. |
| September 4th, 1883. | Robinson, John, 56, Church Street, Eccles. |
| May 2nd, 1885. | *Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., Devonshire House, Mossley. |
| July 26th, 1884. | Roper, W. O., Lancaster. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Rowbotham, G. H., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited. |
| April 22nd, 1884. | Rudd, John, Palatine Road, Didsbury. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Russell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Todmorden. |
| March 21st, 1883. | *Rylands, Thomas G., F.S.A., Highfield, Thelwall, Warrington. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Sales, Henry H., 68, Greame Street, Whalley Range. |
| May 4th, 1883. | Sandbach, J. E., Stoodley Hall, Eastwood, Todmorden. |
| December 7th, 1883. | Scholes, James C., 46, Newport Street, Bolton. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Schou, Nicolai C., 40, South King Street, Manchester. |
| April 14th, 1885. | *Schwabe, Charles, Glenthorne, Whalley Range. |
| October 9th, 1885. | Scott, E. D., Greenbank, Ashton-upon-Mersey. |
| June 26th, 1883. | Scott, Fred, 100, King Street, Manchester. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Selby, John B., Atherton Hall, Leigh. |
| March 21st, 1883. | Shaw, Giles, 72, Manchester Street, Oldham. |
| November 7th, 1884. | Shaw, James, 95, Brookshaw Terrace, Walmersley Road, Bury. |
| June 26th, 1883. | Sheil, Charles, Victoria Terrace, Bolton Road, Pendleton. |
| November 18th, 1884. | Sherriff, Herbert, Dean's Villa, Swinton. |

June 26th, 1883. Shuttleworth, John, Withington.
March 21st, 1883. Smith, C. C., Birchfield, Swinton.
January 11th, 1884. †Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Temple Place, Strood, Kent.
March 7th, 1884. Smith, David, J.P., 5, Cromford Court, Manchester.
May 22nd, 1886. Smith, Fredk. Ford, Lime Grove, Brooklands.
March 21st, 1883. Smith, J. J., B.A., Heywood.
June 11th, 1886. Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, Didsbury.
November 18th, 1884. Standen, Robert, Industrial Schools, Swinton.
March 21st, 1883. Standring, Alfred, Beech House, Knutsford.
March 21st, 1883. Stanning, Rev. J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire.
June 26th, 1883. Steinthal, E. F. L., 81, Nelson Street, Manchester.
October 9th, 1885. Stephenson, D., Fulshaw Lodge, Wilmslow.
June 26th, 1883. Stern, Miss, Wynthrop, Ashton-on-Mersey.
June 26th, 1883. Stewart, Mrs. Balfour, The Rowans, Parsonage Road, Withington.
July 26th, 1884. *Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster.
March 21st, 1883. Sutton, Charles W., Free Library, King Street, Manchester.
October 17th, 1884. Sutton, Richard H., 26, Princess Street, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883. Swindells, John, 38, Faulkner Street, Manchester.

November 7th, 1884. Tate, Alfred L., Groby Place, Altrincham.
April 2nd, 1886. Tatham, Leonard, 26, George Street, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884. Taylor, Alexander, Plumtrees, Bury.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Joshua, 7, Richmond Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Henry.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Mrs.
September 4th, 1883. Thornton, J. S., Victoria Park School, Manchester.
March 12th, 1884. Thorp, Ernest, Buxton Road House, Macclesfield.
May 4th, 1883. Thorp, J. Walter H., Jordan Gate House, Macclesfield.
March 21st, 1883. Tonge, Rev. Canon Richard, M.A., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
March 21st, 1883. Toole, Very Rev. Canon Lawrence, D.D., St. Wilfrid's, Manchester.
June 30th, 1885. *Trappes, Charles J. B., J.P., Nidd Lodge, Higher Broughton.
February 5th, 1886. Turner, William, Westlands, Plymouth Grove.

December 7th, 1883. Waddington, Wm. Angelo, Carlton Road, Burnley.
June 13th, 1885. Wadsworth, Christopher, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Walter, William, M.A., M.D., 20, St. John Street, Manchester.
November 6th, 1885. Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham.
May 4th, 1883. Ward, Prof. A. W., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883. Ward, James, Leigh.

June 11th, 1886. Waters, Edwin H., Green Bank, Langham Road, Bowdon.

March 21st, 1883. Watkin, W. Thompson, 242, West Derby Road, Liverpool.

May 4th, 1883. Webb, Richard, 34, Grafton Street, Oxford Road, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Whaite, Frederick A., F.R.M.S., Deansgate, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Wieler, Miss R. C., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.

November 2nd, 1883. Wilkins, Prof. A. S., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.

March 21st, 1883. *Wilkinson, Thomas Read, The Polygon, Ardwick.

April 14th, 1885. Wiper, William, Rock Terrace, Higher Broughton.

June 26th, 1883. Wood, Joseph, Fallowfield.

March 21st, 1883. Wood, R., Plumpton House, Heywood.

March 21st, 1883. Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Penrhos House, Rugby.

June 30th, 1885. Wood, Robert, Birch Mills, Heywood.

November 18th, 1884. Woodhouse, Rev. Canon Charles W., 65, Ardwick Green, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Worthington, Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., 110, King Street, Manchester.

December 22nd, 1884. Worthington, T. Locke, 12, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

May 4th, 1883. Wright, T. Frank, 18, Park Grove, Old Trafford.

December 22nd, 1884. Wylie, J. H., M.A., Heybrook, Rochdale.

March 21st, 1883. Yates, George C., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester.

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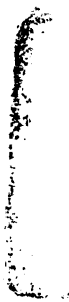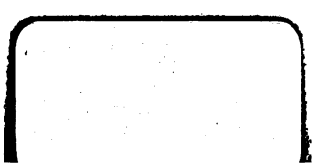
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